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Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-146
Monday
2 August 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-146 CONTENTS *2 August 1993*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Coal Industry Leaders Meet To Revive Former Links *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 30 Jul]* 1
Executive Secretariat Officials To Be Trained in Brussels *[Minsk Radio]* 1
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 31 Jul 1

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Karasin Holds Briefing 3
- Decision To Bomb Serbs Should Have UN Approval *[ITAR-TASS]* 3
- Cooperation on Space With India Sought *[ITAR-TASS]* 3
- Discusses Tajikistan, Abkhazia *[Russian TV]* 3

Events Surrounding Tajik-Afghan Conflict Viewed 4
- Tajikistan Agrees to Summit on Border Issue *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jul]* 4
- Legality of Strikes on Afghanistan Questioned *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jul]* 4
- Air Force Denies Bombing Badakhshan *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
- Primakov Meets Afghan Leadership in Kabul *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
- Shaposhnikov Urges Border Be Closed 'Properly' *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 31 Jul]* 6
- Afghan Consul Insists on Troop Withdrawal *[Moscow Radio]* 6
- Kabul Radio Reports Aircraft Bombing Afghanistan *[Moscow Radio]* 6
- Government Threatens Strike on Afghan Border *[ITAR-TASS]* 6
- Transbaykal Sends Troops to Tajikistan *[Radio Rossii]* 6
- Primakov Discusses Conflict in Tehran *[ITAR-TASS]* 6

Problems of Defining Russia'a Borders Viewed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 30 Jul]* 7
UN Envoy in Sochi To Facilitate Abkhaz Peace 7
- Commission Being Formed *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
- Calls New Agreement 'Compromise' *[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY]* 8
- Meets Abkhaz Leader *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
- Says International Conference May Be Held *[Moscow International]* 8

Team To Monitor Cease-Fire Observance in Abkhazia *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Yeltsin, Uzbek Leader Agree to Central Asian Meeting *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
'Hot Fall' Predicted Unless Black Sea Fleet Issue Resolved *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Jul]* 9
Kozyrev Statement on Results of Geneva Peace Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
- Churkin: 'Important Step' Taken *[ITAR-TASS]* 9

Envoy Meets Lebanon's al-Harari, Stresses Need for Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Effect of Israeli Shelling on Peace Talks Assessed *[Moscow Radio]* 10
Khasbulatov Trip to Saudi Arabia, UAE Postponed *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Parliamentarians Study Secret Service Monitoring in U.S. *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 11
Seriousness of U.S. Cutbacks on Defense Spending Questioned *[Moscow International]* 12
Railway Link With China, Mongolia, DPRK Proposed *[Moscow International]* 12
Options of Asia-Pacific Security System Eyed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Jul]* 12
Sweden Rules Russian Jews Have No Grounds To Seek Asylum *[Moscow International]* 14
Poland Seeks Right To Broadcast TV to Russia *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Service Approves Provisions for Regulating Working Abroad *[Russian TV]* 14

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

'Imminent Coup' Predicted, Yeltsin's Health Cited *[PRAVDA 31 Jul]* 15
Official Denies Yeltsin Illness Rumor *[Budapest MTI]* 16
Democratic Russia Notes Danger of 'Coup d'Etat' *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 16

Shakhray Believes Government May Have To Resign *[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA 30 Jul]* 16
Democratic Reform Offical on Barannikov Dismissal *[Radio Rossii]* 17
Kalugin Says Barannikov's 'Loyalty' Was in Doubt *[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA 30 Jul]* 18
Security Official Cited on Barannikov Resignation *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 31 Jul]* 18
Grigoryants, Yushenkov Offer Reasons for Removal *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 31 Jul]* 19
Paper Corrects Piece on Barannikov Ouster *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 19
Yeltsin Accepts Parliament Challenge, Signs Property Edict *[SEGODNYA 30 Jul]* 19
Lobby Increasing Parliament 'Conflict' With Government *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 30 Jul]* 20
Chernomyrdin Opens Government Presidium 29 Jul 20
  Urges Ministers To Support Harvest *[Russian TV]* 20
  Discusses Harvest, Taxation *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Jul]* 21
Activities of Chernomyrdin, Vice Premiers Reported *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Jul]* 21
Rutskoy, Filatov Discuss Vice Presidency *[Russian TV]* 21
Justice Minister on New Commission on Corruption *[Moscow TV]* 23
Constitutional Process 'Undermined' by Khasbulatov *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Jul]* 24
Constitutional Court Rejects Press Rebukes *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 30 Jul]* 25

Economic Issues

Further on Decision To Withdraw Bank Notes 25
  Fedorov Denies Khasbulatov Claims *[Moscow Radio]* 25
  Fedorov Apologizes for Khasbulatov *[Moscow TV]* 25
  Fedorov Interviewed on Fiscal Policy *[Russian TV]* 26
  Further on Fedorov News Conference *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 27
  Uzbekistan Sent 'Large Amount' of Notes *[Radio Rossii]* 27
  Bank Official Claims Interview 'Butchered' *[PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 27
  Refugees Exempt From Withdrawal *[Moscow TV]* 28
  Article Urges Gerashchenko's Dismissal *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 28
  Bank Issues Revised Procedure *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 31 Jul]* 30
Agreement on Grain Prices Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 30 Jul]* 30
Chernomyrdin's Free Grain Storage Offer Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 31

Military Issues

Defense Ministry To Produce Mi-28 Helicopter *[Moscow Radio]* 31
Grachev Cancels Promotion of Controversial Officer *[Russian TV]* 31
General Says Country To Have Rapid Deployment Forces *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 31 Jul]* 31

Supreme Soviet

Extraordinary Parliament Session Opens 31 Jul *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
  To Continue Work 'Next Week' *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
  Discusses Law Amendments *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
  Shakhray Addresses Session *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
  Yeltsin Decree Confirmed *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
  Collective Security Accord Ratified *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
  'Corrections' to Law on Forming Government *[ITAR-TASS]* 34
  CIS Armed Forces Chief Post 'Liquidated' *[ITAR-TASS]* 34
Khasbulatov Interviewed on Key Issues *[Russian TV]* 34
Ispravnikov Interviewed on Monetary Reform *[Russian TV]* 41
Dunayev Says His, Barannikov's Removal 'Illegal' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Jul]* 42
Decree on Missile Technology Control Treaties *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Jul]* 43

Regional Affairs

Administrative Head, Corps Commander Killed in Ossetia *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
  Yeltsin's Office Head on Deaths *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
  Shakhray, Other Officials Arrive in Vladikavkaz *[ITAR-TASS]* 44

  - Grachev Arrives To Investigate Killings *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
  - Shakhray To Wait for Results of Investigation *[Moscow Radio]* 45
  - North Ossetia Adopts Statement *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
  - Rumors Circulate of Azerbaijani-Turkish Link *[Moscow TV]* 45
  - Ingush Leaders Express Sorrow Over Deaths *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
- Text of Yeltsin's Ossetia, Ingushetia Emergency Edict *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 31 Jul]* 46
- Shooting Continues in North Ossetia *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
- Aushev's Threat To Withdraw 'Not More Than a Bluff' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 31 Jul]* 47
- Congress of Peoples of Ingushetia Opens in Nazran 48
  - Aushev Criticizes Russian Stand *[Moscow International]* 48
  - Talk of Secession Discounted *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 31 July]* 48
  - Federation Treaty Deemed 'Unacceptable' *[ITAR-TASS]* 48
- Chechnya, Ingushetia Sign Treaty on Determining Borders *[Radio Rossii]* 49

UKRAINE

International Affairs

- Kravchuk Interviewed on Nuclear Arms, Foreign Policy *[Kiev International]* 50
- Pavlychko Interviewed on Nuclear Arms, Black Sea Fleet *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 31 Jul]* 52
  - Discusses START I, Nonproliferation Treaties *[UNIAN]* 54
- U.S., Russian Moratorium on Nuclear Testing Welcomed *[Kiev International]* 54
- Commentary Views Struggle for 'Nuclear Button' in Russia *[DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA 29 Jul]* 54
- Foreign Policy, Nuclear Arms Policy Viewed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 30 Jul]* 54
  - Foreign Ministry Collegium Discusses Guidelines *[Kiev International]* 56
- Morozov Claims U.S. Trip Laid 'Basis for Stable Relations' *[Kiev International]* 56
- Ambassador To Israel Praises Release of Demjanjuk *[Kiev International]* 57
  - Demjanjuk Seeks Asylum *[Moscow Radio]* 57
  - Granted Entry Visa; Departure Postponed *[Kiev International]* 57
- Foreign Ministry Calls For Stopping Israeli Action in Lebanon *[Kiev International]* 57
- Troops Reportedly Sent to Crimea To Defend Sevastopol *[Russian TV]* 58
  - Defense Ministry Denies Report *[Kiev International]* 58
  - National Guard Denies Troop Movements *[Kiev International]* 58
- Naval Officers Protest Fleet's Subordination to Russia *[UNIAR]* 58
- Pro-Russian Rally Held in Simferopol; Resolution Adopted *[ITAR-TASS]* 58
  - Rally in Sevastopol *[Kiev International]* 59
  - Sevastopol Favors Russian Status *[Radio Rossii]* 59
- Sailors Mutiny Over Non-Payment of Wages *[Moscow Radio]* 59
- Russian Bank Decision Not To Affect Payments With Ukraine *[Moscow TV]* 59
  - Banks To Exchange Old Rubles for Karbovantsi *[UNIAN]* 59
- Romania Seen as 'Probable' Enemy for Military Maneuvers *[UNIAN]* 59
  - No State Regarded as 'Likely Enemy' *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
- Foreign Ministry 'Welcomes' Georgian, Abkhaz Accord *[Kiev International]* 60

National Affairs

- Kravchuk Issues Order on State Support to Press *[Kiev International]* 60
- Crimean Tatars Criticize Ukrainian Government *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 31 Jul]* 60
- Future of Reorganized Air Force Debated *[UNIAN]* 60
- Officers Union Expresses Distrust of Security Service *[NARODNA HAZETA Jul]* 61
- Zaporozhye AES Unit Shut Down Twice *[Kiev International]* 61
- Rovno Nuclear Station To Store Radioactive Waste *[UKRINFORM]* 61
- League of Entrepreneurs, Industrialists Set Up in Lvov *[UNIAR]* 61
- Space Center To Be Created in Kharkov *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 29 Jul]* 61
- Nationalist Group Protests Registration Ban *[UNIAR]* 62

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Shushkevich Hands Clinton Nuclear Treaty Document *[Minsk Radio]* ... 63
Officials Interviewed on Visit to U.S. *[ZVYAZDA 24 Jul]* ... 63
U.S. Intelligence Services To Help Combat Terrorism *[Minsk Radio]* ... 64
Australia's Evans Hails Republic's Nonnuclear Efforts *[Minsk Radio]* ... 64
Ukrainian Procurator General Stresses Cooperation *[Moscow Radio]* ... 64
Bank Chairman Complains of Russia's Actions Over Ruble *[Minsk Radio]* ... 64
Popular Front Calls Russian Money Reform 'Treacherous' *[Minsk Radio]* ... 65

Moldova

Foreign Minister Tau Views Planned Adherence to CIS *[Bucharest Radio]* ... 65
Yeltsin Note Reiterates Will To Solve Dniester Conflict *[BASAPRESS]* ... 65
Dniester Republic Starts Producing Own Weapons *[NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA 28 Jul]* ... 66
Snegur Receives Romanian Presidential Envoy *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* ... 66
Economy Minister Admits Economic Crisis Reaches Peak *[BASAPRESS]* ... 66
Lucinschi, Company Directors Discuss Industry Situation *[BASAPRESS]* ... 66

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev, Russia's Adamishin Discuss Tajik Situation *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 67
    Discuss Proposed Summit *[Moscow TV]* ... 67
Government Reaches Credit Agreement With Russia *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 30 Jul]* ... 67
Nazarbayev, Bulgaria's Zhelev Sign Cooperation Treaty *[Sofia BTA]* ... 68
    Sign Economic Agreements *[Almaty Radio]* ... 68

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Discusses Tajik-Afghan Situation With Russian Envoy *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 69
Zhelev Signs Communique; Russian Diplomats To Visit *[Moscow Radio]* ... 69
State Committee Issues Resolution on Ruble Exchange *[Bishkek Radio]* ... 70
EC Develops Program To Help Private Businesses *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 70
Iranian Pharmaceutical Company Proposes Cooperation *[Bishkek Radio]* ... 70

Tajikistan

Adamishin Visits Afghan Border, Favors Peace Talks *[Radio Rossii]* ... 70
    Leaves Dushanbe After 'Good' Talks *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 71
    Supports Political Solution *[Moscow Radio]* ... 71
Fighting on Border Continues; Militants Resisting *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 72
    Russian Forces Bombard Rebels *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 72
    Large-Scale Invasion Expected *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 31 Jul]* ... 72
    Russian Commander Describes 'Crushing Blow' *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 72
    Rebels Said Retreating With Heavy Losses *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 73
Kyrgyz Battalion Heads to Tajik-Afghan Border *[Radio Rossii]* ... 73
    Seen Looking for Excuse To Leave *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 31 Jul]* ... 73
Olimov Praises Russian Statement on Afghan Border *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 74
Security Chief Comments on Resolution of Conflict *[Moscow TV]* ... 74
Political Situation in Gorno-Badakhshan Assessed *[Russian TV]* ... 74
    Government Supports Defense of Border *[Russian TV]* ... 74
    New Leader Examines Situation *[Dushanbe Radio]* ... 75
Ethnic Council Denounces Afghan Actions *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 75
Rakhmanov Appeals for Return of Tajik Refugees *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 75
Statistics Committee Reports on Economic Crisis *[ITAR-TASS]* ... 76

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Foreign Ministry Briefs Diplomats on View of UN Talks *[ARMENPRES]* 77
Foreign Minister Urges Iranian Mediation in Karabakh *[Tehran TV]* 77
Karabakh Foreign Minister 29 Jul News Conference *[Yerevan Radio]* 77
Azerbaijanis Reportedly Shell Agdam 1 Aug *[SNARK]* 77

Azerbaijan

Elchibey Thanks U.S., UN for Discussing Armenia *[ASSA-IRADA]* 77
Azerbaijan, Karabakh Agree to Seven-Day Cease-Fire *[Baku Radio]* 78
    President's Press Service Issues Statement *[TURAN]* 78
    Talks With Karabakh Leaders 'Businesslike' *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 78
    Azerbaijan Claims Talks 'Invalid' *[Moscow Radio]* 78
Foreign Ministry Issues Protest Against Armenia *[Baku Radio]* 79
Armenian Army Units Move Toward Barda, Agdzhabedi *[TURAN]* 79
Defense Ministry on Armenian Artillery Activity *[TURAN]* 79
Turkey Calls For 'Serious Measures' Against Armenia *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 80
Further on Vote To Hold Referendum on Elchibey *[TURAN]* 80
    Elchibey Favors Referendum *[Moscow Radio]* 80
Decision To Hold Referendum Seen as 'Fundamentally Wrong' *[Radio Rossii]* 81
Iran's Velayati To Visit 9 Aug *[TURAN]* 81
Mamedov Intervenes, Frees Arrested NIP Press Secretary *[TURAN]* 81
Former Minister's Apartment Attacked With Grenades *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 81
Acting Foreign Minister Salamov Receives Greek Envoy *[Baku Radio]* 81
Mustafayev Appointed Chief Editor of AZERBAIJAN *[Baku Radio]* 82

Georgia

Observers Arrive in Ochamchira To Monitor Cease-Fire *[Tbilisi Radio]* 82
    'Mixed' Groups Begin Operations *[ITAR-TASS]* 82
Shevardnadze Welcomes UN Participation in Abkhazia *[ITAR-TASS]* 82
    Says UN, Russian Role Can Guarantee Settlement
    [CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY] 83
    Calls Start of Cease-Fire 'Encouraging' *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jul]* 83
Georgians Claim Abkhazia Violates Cease-Fire *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
Abkhazia Reports Georgia Breaks Cease-Fire *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
Gamsakhurdia Supporters Withdraw From Senaki *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
Gamsakhurdia Representative Denies Report on Hostage *[Russian TV]* 84
Kitovani's Aide Denies Kitovani Alliance With Kobalia *[Tbilisi Radio]* 85
South Ossetia Wants To Participate in Talks *[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY]* 85
South Ossetian Government Introduces Passports *[Tbilisi Radio]* 85
Russian Envoy Meets National Democratic Party Leader
[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY] 85
Shevardnadze Meets German Envoy; German Credits Registered *[Tbilisi Radio]* 85
Cabinet Approves Monetary Policy, Coupon as Sole Currency
[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 23 Jul] 85
National Bank Coupon Only Legal Tender From 2 Aug *[Radio Rossii]* 86

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Border Guards Detain Iraqis With Forged Visas *[BNS]* 87
Light Infantry Company Withdraws to Base in West *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 87
    Government Orders Company Leaders To Leave *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 87

Lithuania

Landsbergis on Ties With Russia, Baltic States *[Vilnius Radio]* 88

Coal Industry Leaders Meet To Revive Former Links

PM3007152193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 4

[Yekaterina Vasilchenko report under the rubric "The Union Is Dead. Long Live the Union!": "Mineworkers Have Gotten Around the Negotiating Table"; names as transliterated]

[Text] Reestablishing severed ties and subsequently developing cooperation with a view to stabilizing the coal industry in CIS countries—this was how participants in a conference of Commonwealth countries' mineworkers, held in Moscow, defined their task.

For decades the coal industry within the borders of the former USSR developed as an integrated whole and its mutual production, structural, and technical relations were built on this basis. Alarming figures were cited in speeches by Yuriy Malyshev (Russia), Nikolay Sergey (Ukraine), Saken Sadykov (Kazakhstan), Server Tomolak (Uzbekistan), Tyulegen Sadabayev (Kyrgyzstan), and Mukhamet Ishanov (Tajikistan). The disruption of economic ties has resulted in a drop in coal extraction from 763 million tonnes in 1988 to 594 million in 1992 (total CIS production). The decline is continuing. During the period when states were busy parading their sovereignty, mining equipment deteriorated once the plants that manufactured this equipment came to be located "abroad."

More than 60 percent of mining and mine transportation hardware, 70-75 percent of explosion-proof electric motors and nonsparking safety ignition devices, and the entire production of Shakhtol and Emulsol [possibly brand names] is concentrated in Ukraine. The heavy-duty BelAZ dump trucks used in the coal industry are only manufactured in Belarus, and the production of mobile substations has been developed exclusively in Uzbekistan. In turn many components used in the production of these items are manufactured on the territories of other states. The situation is aggravated by the fact that enterprises lack the necessary money to buy equipment, and by the variety of currencies in circulation in CIS countries. As of 1 July this year enterprises in this sector were in debt to the "Roskontrakt" joint-stock company for material assets delivered from Commonwealth countries to the tune of 5,800 million rubles [R], of which Ukraine owed R2,300 million, Belarus R3,000 million, and Kazakhstan R490 million.

"I saw you sitting around this big table and suddenly imagined that I was attending a board meeting of the 'CIS Countries' Coal' joint-stock company," Georgiy Tikhonov, chief of Russian Federation Goskomsotrudnichestvo [State Committee for Economic Cooperation with the Commonwealth Member States] Main Administration for Fuel and the Power Industry, said in his speech at the conference. "I believe that all the preconditions exist to set up this sort of organization. I have drawn this conclusion from your speeches, although for political reasons many of you did not state the fact directly. Goskomsotrudnichestvo is prepared to help."

The first step toward pooling efforts has been made by Russian and Ukrainian mineworkers. Ukraine is currently short of about 11 million tonnes of coal and Russia needs mining hardware, the production of which, as was mentioned above, remains almost entirely within Ukraine. Agreement has been reached on supplying Ukraine with Russian coal in exchange for hardware. Moreover, both states are undertaking to simplify their customs regimes for each other as far as they can.

"Despite political feuding," Yuriy Malyshev, general director of the "Rosugol" joint-stock company, said, "We miners have never quarreled. Following the declarations of sovereignty we have continued to go and see one another, we keep abreast of all problems, and we have always helped one another in whatever way we can. Today, it seems, even people at government level are seriously starting to take account of this fact."

The first meeting of leaders of the national administrative organs and trade unions of workers in the CIS countries' coal industries, at which these agreements will be formulated, is planned for this fall.

Executive Secretariat Officials To Be Trained in Brussels

WS3007135693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] According to the press service of the CIS Executive Secretariat, the first group of the permanent official representatives of the CIS Executive Secretariat is likely to go to the European Community Commission for training in September. The agreement on rendering consultative aid to the CIS working organs was reached during the visit to Brussels of the delegation headed by CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya. The parties have already developed an approximate schedule of how the Belarusian colleagues will get acquainted with the multifaceted duties of the coordinating structures of one of the most authoritative international organizations.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 31 Jul

LD3107061393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0541 GMT 31 Jul 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 31 ITAR-TASS—Ways to stabilise the financial situation in Russia and beat down the inflation rate, as well as the rouble swop engineered by the Central Bank remain in the focus of attention of the Russian press today.

People's Deputy Sergey Yushenkov, one of the leaders of the Radical Democrats faction, writes in the newspaper "ROSSIYSKIE VESTI" that the money change, which started in Russia and evoked repercussions across the world, "together with the appearance of a struggle against corruption ... are links of the same chain aiming to restore the socialist camp through the imposition of the dictatorship of soviets (councils)".

"It must be admitted that with the help of such tricks the opponents of the adoption of a new constitution have succeeded to a certain extent in detracting the public attention from the main objective of democratic reforms this year—pre-term parliamentary elections".

Prominent economist Stanislav Shatalin writes in the same newspaper that the Russian Government must find a way to combine a rigid financial, crediting, monetary, taxation. Structural and social policies into one, linking up separate policies totally unconnected at present.

"The financial crisis continues to exert a destructive pressure on the life on military and labour collectives," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) writes. Disruption of funding brings about highly negative social and economic effects, the newspaper says. Financial disfunction affects above all the civil employees with the armed forces, one of the most vulnerable groups in society in conditions of interminable price jumps, cash shortages and the ill-conceived money change.

The newspaper TRUD discusses the overall economic situation in Russia and notes that despite statements about stabilisation, production slump continues. TRUD reports that the first six months of this year saw industrial production shrink 18 percent from the same period last year.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA described the sacking of Russian Minister of Security Viktor Barannikov as "last week's biggest political bomb". The newspaper says on its front page that the firing of Viktor Barannikov is not the last and forecasts more dismissals in the coming week. The newspaper cites an unnamed source in the Security Ministry as saying that "the best weapon in the political struggle in Russia today is the debunking of two or three corrupt officials... Barannikov undoubtedly knew too much about money-grabbers from both camps and because of this became 'unsuitable'".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA quotes from the minutes of the debate in the parliament presidium of the Russian president's decree sacking the minister. Parliament chief Ruslan Khasbulatov went on record as stressing that the effective constitution does not allow any replacements of the key figures in the government without the consent of the parliament.

The newspaper PRAVDA publishes a statement by Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy who says "an atmosphere of political tension and anxiety has been fanned in the country of late. Confrontation between different branches of power is being incited, and the split in the top state and political leadership of Russia is deepening". These developments are a direct result of the targeted efforts of the "party of radicals" who seek to usurp the political and economic power in the country, Rutskoy says.

In this connection, the vice-president calls on all forces in society to move towards "consolidation and national concord in the name of the rebirth of great Russia and the securing of its democratic future".

PRAVDA also publishes a item analyzing the activity of Dmitriy Yakubovsky who has lately attracted the attention of the media by his actions as the governmental adviser.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an item arguing in favour of establishing financial and industrial groups in the Russian national economy as one of the major steps in economic restructuring. "In the Russian industry as a whole, including defence, the process of forming financial-industrial groups is proceeding spontaneously, although these groups can effectively play the role of a locomotive capable of pulling the Russian economy out of the crisis," the newspaper says.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Karasin Holds Briefing

Decision To Bomb Serbs Should Have UN Approval

LD3007132993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1233 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul—At a briefing today, Grigoriy Karasin, Director of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department, gave a positive appraisal of the tripartite talks in Geneva on settling the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Moscow is holding a positive view of the first accord between the Muslim, Serb, and Croat sides on a cease-fire in Bosnia and a continuation of the talks process between three commanders of Armed Forces for drawing up a military accord incorporating the basic elements of the Vance-Owen plan, he said.

The Russian diplomat expressed the hope that the sides will also agree on a constitutional structure for the future state on the basis of proposals put forward by the cochairmen of the Geneva conference.

Answering a question on Russia's position on possible American bombing raids on Serb positions, Karasin said that the plan for air cover for the UN operation in Bosnia must be presented to the UN Security Council for examination and confirmation. Russia, he went on, supports firm and strict UN control over all possible operations. In his words, the question is one of possible actions against any of the sides in the Bosnian conflict who should breach the conditions.

The representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry said that the decision on the first air strike should be made by the UN secretary general personally after consultation with representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Subsequent strikes could, if necessary, be delivered at the decision of the UN forces commander, but a report to the Security Council would be obligatory. In this way, according to Karasin, "any possible action will be of a genuinely UN nature, as opposed to any other."

Cooperation on Space With India Sought

LD3007142893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Staroselskiy and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul—"The latest statement of the Indian side testifies to the fact that Delhi understands the motives which forced us to introduce amendments to the agreement on cryogenic engines," Grigoriy Karasin, the director of the Department for Information and Press of the Russian Foreign Ministry, stated at a briefing here today.

Answering questions of journalists, he expressed hope that "this step, which the Russian side was forced to take, will not affect Russia's multifaceted relations with this great Asian country and our good neighbor. As before, we still advocate further cooperation with India in most diverse spheres, including the sphere of the research and use of space for peaceful purposes."

Russia, the Foreign Ministry representative pointed out, fully understands the exclusive importance of India's peaceful space program for tackling its economic tasks and is prepared to cooperate in the matter of successfully implementing this program, "including the transfer for these purposes of ready space engines, necessary for launching satellites."

The Russian side, Karasin stressed, is working for signing an intergovernment agreement with India on cooperation in the use of space for peaceful purposes in the very near future.

Discusses Tajikistan, Abkhazia

LD3007223893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By correspondent T. Orlova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The main attention at a regular briefing held by the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry was paid to what was going on in the hotspots.

[Orlova] The Russian Foreign Ministry expressed its satisfaction with the Georgian-Abkhazian agreement reached on 27 July. This was revealed today at a regular briefing by Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry department for information and press. He pointed out that the agreement has created the real foundations for a stable cease-fire, and, virtually, a way out of all the key problems has been found.

At the same time, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry is still deeply worried by the situation in other hotspots abroad, both near and far. In connection with this, he gave a negative response to the seizure of the Azerbaijani town of Fizuli [as heard] in the zone of the Karabakh conflict by the Armenian side, as well as to the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border that has become considerablely aggravated by the concentration of fighters in the region.

The former USSR, said Karasin, still has no clearly defined borders and that means that the safety of the Tajikistan borders is also the safety of Russia's borders. The Russian side is fully in control of the situation without having to undertake any preemptive attacks. However, if extraordinary situations emerge, they will be carried out without any delay.

Russia is no less worried about the escalation of the Lebanese-Israeli conflict, which has caused numerous casualties. In a note issued by the Russian Foreign Ministry, the actions carried out by Israel were discribed as not befitting the situation.

Events Surrounding Tajik-Afghan Conflict Viewed

Tajikistan Agrees to Summit on Border Issue

PM3007150993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Karpov and Boris Pilyatskin: "Mission of the Russian President's Special Representative in Tajikistan"]

[Text] Dushanbe—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special representative A. Adamishin, Russian first deputy foreign minister, who is completing a tour of several CIS Central Asian states, handed a message from the Russian president to Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov in Dushanbe on 29 July.

The document which Adamishin handed over speaks of the dangerous situation which has arisen on the Tajik-Afghan border where, even following the tragic deaths of a detail of border guards on 13 July, armed clashes with the mojahedin are persisting. Anatoliy Adamishin informed journalists after the meeting that his conversation with Tajikistan's leaders showed proximity or coincidence of positions on all the questions touched upon.

The Tajik side gave its full consent to participate in a meeting between representatives of Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and the armed groups operating in the north of Afghanistan and by the River Pyandzh on the border. According to available information, this conference could well take place in Dushanbe in the very near future. The proposal contained in Boris Yeltsin's message to hold a summit meeting within the framework of six CIS countries (Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan) to discuss joint efforts aimed at normalizing the situation in this region and ensuring peace and stability there was also greeted extremely positively by Imamali Rakhmanov.

On Friday, 30 July, the Russian president's special representative flew by helicopter to the region where one border guards detail is stationed, and in the afternoon flew to Tashkent to hand over a message from B. Yeltsin to Uzbek President I. Karimov and for talks with the same.

Legality of Strikes on Afghanistan Questioned

PM3007191793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Special correspondent Boris Vinogradov report, followed by editorial comment: "Missiles Are Flying Into Afghanistan. What Will Come Back?"]

[Text] It was quiet that day at the Moscow border detachment's 10th border post, unlike the previous day when Afghan mojahedin and Tajik gunmen from the Islamic Revival Party fired missiles from across the river Pyandzh and from behind the border post, from positions in the mountains which they had infiltrated and where they had ensconced themselves in inaccessible gullies and canyons.

The chief of staff—Lieutenant Colonel Valeriy Strotonov, who met the helicopter landing force of foreign journalists equipped with cameras and video cameras at the border post—requested that they did not hang around on the landing area and ordered them to take shelter "just in case." Everyone was interested to know what assistance is being given to the border troops by the 201st Motorized Infantry Division of the Russian Army, and how they could find confirmation of the words of Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev who promised to take "all necessary measures to punish attempts on the lives of Russian soldiers engaged in border defense duties."

We encountered graphic evidence of the Russian Army's intention to "stick to its guns" at the border post itself, where there were tanks, armored personnel carriers, and a BM-21 rocket launcher, better known as a Grad. This is indeed something, we decided, and at the sight of strong, sunburned guys in camouflage fatigues, we felt more at ease. They told us that at the present time these weapons are entirely adequate for suppressing localized attempts to mount armed attacks on border installations.

It was explained to me that "localized attempts" mean intentions on the part of the gunmen to punch a hole in the border, launch a missile strike on the border post, carry out a sortie, ferry munitions across the Pyandzh, and so forth. However, the sultry silence that hung over the river, the deserted gray hillocks all around, and the entire landscape somehow contrasted with the scene that had been prepared for us earlier.

But that very morning, the chief of staff explained, all this had looked somewhat different. First of all, a skirmish had broken out in the vicinity of the 11th border post located 14 km away from the 10th post further up the Pyandzh. It was continuing at that moment. Even here it was possible to catch the sound of artillery fire. An operation was under way to clear Tajik territory of the bands that have settled in the mountains.

Second, combat helicopters from the 201st Division had already completed their task of launching a strike against mojahedin groupings on the Afghan side of the border. This "task," as I understood it, has been methodically carried out in recent days in accordance with the measures adopted by Minister Pavel Grachev, and has become an important element of the day to day functions of the Russian Army in Tajikistan.

It is well known that the military are not obliged to furnish journalists with plans of their operational activities, and there is no point in trying to elicit from them data of a secret nature. It is clear why the official reports issued by the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Press Center tend to be couched in purely professional language and the appropriate terminology.

For example, the latest reports talk about "aerial bombing and assault strikes," "prevention of attempts to break through," "Afghan forces," and so forth. But from this information it is hard to clarify where these strikes are being directed and against whom. The reader is left even more confused on hearing simultaneous reports of Afghan protests to the United Nations accusing Russia of aggression and the destruction of villages on Afghan territory.

We have no way of knowing how "surgical" these strikes are. In terms of accuracy, I believe, it is unlikely that they compare even with the U.S. bombardments of Baghdad in which innocent civilians were killed. Where is that line of military sufficiency and political sense which it is dangerous to overstep if we are constantly thinking about the "first Afghan war" and are terrified of becoming involved in a "second."

The Army, needless to say, is in a difficult position: It has to look over its shoulder at the politicians and at the same time tackle tactical tasks on the basis of the requirements of modern military art. I realized that all these questions only irritate the military, who are tasked with ensuring reliable security and preserving the lives of our guys on the border. So is our artillery firing into Afghanistan?

Lt. Col. V. Strotonov made no secret of this. And in order that none of my correspondent colleagues had any doubts on this score, he said: "You'll see for yourselves." He summoned the senior artillery officer—Captain Andrey Sosnin, serving in the 201st Division—and asked: "When are you firing the next salvo?" Andrey briskly replied: "Right away. The launcher is aimed at the target." But at that moment we were in the process of boarding cars and armored personnel carriers that were taking us on to the neighboring border post where the battle with the mojahedin was coming to an end. The soldiers decided to delay until our return. We got back several hours later covered from head to foot in a greasy layer of whitish dust. Many of our number rushed off to get washed in the pool [basseyn], but then somebody suddenly remembered the promise to demonstrate the Grad.

Capt. Sosnin asked everyone to move a safe distance away from the BM-21, which was standing on an open area by the gates, and gave the command. With a deafening whine, nine shells flew one after another across the Pyandzh and beyond the mountain ridges, disappearing into the blue skies above Afghanistan. An impenetrable cloud of dust formed around the launcher, and behind it, about 30 meters away, the withered grass was on fire; the border troops rushed to put it out.

Several minutes later artillery coordinators recruited from special subunits of the Tajik National Security Committee sitting in their shelters on the Afghan side of the border announced over the radio that "the shells had scored a direct hit on the target." I was unable to find out what the target was. I was told that reconnaissance provides the coordinates of concentrations of gunmen and reports on their movements, and on the basis of this information operational sections at the 201st Division's headquarters determine the force of the strike and its advisability.

From the Editorial Office: The lack of any open official position on the part of the Russian leadership regarding the bombardment of Afghan territory by the Russian Army raises at least two obvious considerations. The first is that these actions are illegal, and that the president, the government, the Supreme Soviet, and the Ministry of Defense are perfectly well aware of this.

The second is that by inflicting artillery and bombing strikes on a foreign state, they are in every sense handing it the political, diplomatic, and, of course, military initiative, as well as the moral right to consider itself the object of aggression with all the ensuing consequences.

We are not now raising the question of whether official Kabul, which has done nothing to stop attacks by armed Tajik oppositionists on Russian border posts and which, albeit indirectly, is to blame for the death of Russian servicemen, possesses this moral right.

Let us state the main point: The civilized right to take legitimate counteraction, which is used in similar circumstances by the United States, Israel, and other countries, requires a clearly stated position. As far as the Tajik-Afghan border conflict is concerned, Russia apparently has no such position.

Air Force Denies Bombing Badakhshan

LD3007203193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1855 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian air force headquarters has denied reports by certain Western news agencies that Russian aircraft carried out a raid on villages in the Badakhsahn province in northeastern Afghanistan. The Central Airforce Command Post told ITAR-TASS by telephone that it has no information of any such raid having been prepared or carried out.

The same source simultaneously confirms that several air reconnaissance flights were carried out along the frontier between Tajikistan and Afghanistan.

Primakov Meets Afghan Leadership in Kabul

LD3107092793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0855 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—Yevgeniy Primakov, special envoy of the Russian president and director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS], was in Kabul on 30-31 July. ITAR-TASS was informed about this at the FIS press bureau. The aims of the visit were also stated; Yevgeniy Primakov discussed the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border with the Afghan leadership.

Shaposhnikov Urges Border Be Closed 'Properly'

MK3107101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov on Tajik-Afghan Border"]

[Text] Yesterday, Security Council Secretary Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said that Russia was presently unable to begin setting up borders with the Asian republics of the former USSR. According to Shaposhnikov, a border with Kazakhstan alone will cost Russia tens of trillions of rubles. Shaposhnikov said: "It is essential to close the Tajik-Afghan border properly. Russia alone is not able to do so. Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan also have an interest in accomplishing this. First, we need to coordinate the efforts of all the parties concerned; second, the Tajik leadership has to ease its tone towards the opposition somewhat."

Afghan Consul Insists on Troop Withdrawal

LD3107205693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] The consul of Afghanistan in Dushanbe has given an interview to ITAR-TASS correspondents. He said that, although Afghanistan was trying to have friendly ties with Russia, it continued to insist on the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Tajikistan. Kabul has a full right to protest against the presence of Russian military contingents on its borders, especially if they are already attacking the territory of our country, the consul said.

Kabul Radio Reports Aircraft Bombing Afghanistan

LD0108073693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Radio Kabul has said that Russian aircraft have bombed villages in northern Afghanistan. The Russian Air Force is denying the report. Afghanistan is also saying that over 300 people were killed and wounded as a result of an attack by Russian forces on a region next to the Tajikistan border.

Government Threatens Strike on Afghan Border

LD0108081893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0642 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow, 1 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—The government of the Russian Federation issued the following statement today:

Large numbers of forces of the Tajik armed opposition and Afghan mojahedin continue to concentrate in Afghanistan along the border with the Republic of Tajikistan. These forces are preparing a new large-scale attack on the Russian border troops who are defending Tajikistan's border under treaty obligations. We have information that the attack across the border will begin in the next few days or even hours.

This would be the latest act of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Tajikistan, with which Russia is establishing a treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid. Not to take decisive measures to neutralize [obuzdat] the aggressors would only encourage them to continue this reckless policy, leading to an escalation of the conflict, which threatens the stability and security of the entire Central Asian region.

In this situation, we have no choice but to put an effective stop to bandit activity in the area of the Tajik-Afghan border, in full accordance with the right to individual and collective self-defense envisaged by Article 51 of the UN Charter.

The Russian side is following the developing situation attentively, and has thus far refrained from delivering a preemptive strike [uprezhdayushchiy udar], although it does not rule out the possibility that circumstances may develop which would make this unavoidable.

Keeping in mind that detachments of extremists tend to concentrate in border villages where civilians also live, the Afghanistan authorities have been warned via diplomatic channels that it is essential that the civil population be evacuated from these areas.

In addition, we once more emphasize our intention to increase political and diplomatic efforts to find effective and long-term political settlements aimed at stabilizing the situation in this region. There is no doubt that any steps to escalate the armed conflict, let alone military activity, will only cause us to revoke this decision and will cause the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border to deteriorate even further.

Transbaykal Sends Troops to Tajikistan

LD0108084893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] According to EKSPRESS KHRONIKA, the Transbaykal Border District command has received an order to send several dozens of officers and ensigns and several hundreds of soldiers to Tajikistan to protect the Tajik-Afghan border. It is proposed that the conscription of the soldiers will be on a voluntary basis and compulsory for the officers and ensigns.

Primakov Discusses Conflict in Tehran

LD0208083693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0725 GMT 2 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, a special envoy of the Russian president and chief of the Russian External Intelligence Service, held talks with Iranian officials in Tehran on Sunday on issues relating to the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and in the region as a whole, ITAR-TASS learned from spokesman for the Foreign Intelligence Service Press Bureau Yuriy Kobaladze.

Problems of Defining Russia'a Borders Viewed

MK3007125093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 2

[Vadim Anatolyev report under the "Problem" rubric: "Russia's State Borders Are Not Easy To Move If They Are 60,000 km Long"]

[Text] The developments on the Tajik-Afghan border have again raised the questions: Where do Russia's borders run, and how are they to be guarded?

In the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse, border guards have to contend with three types of state border. The first type is the borders inherited from the USSR and recorded in international legal agreements—that is, the borders with countries that were not part of the USSR (still undefined are two stretches of maritime border with the United States and with Japan in the Far East). The second type is the borders with the republics of the ex-USSR that are not part of the present-day CIS—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Their marking requires more precise data from the point of view of international law. And finally, the supertransparent borders with the former USSR republics comprising the Commonwealth. The latter borders of Russia are not based on any legal instruments and they of course follow the old lines of the intra-Union administrative borders.

The latter two types of border need to be moved, objectively speaking. How is one to move the border-guard technical structures, control and command posts, the complex infrastructure for the men, officers, and members of their families? Using the roughest estimate, moving its border guards to new locations would cost Russia 3-4 trillion rubles at prices at the start of this year's second quarter. This is not, however, the total cost. (One would have to establish customs and other services, also at considerable costs. On the other hand, to see to it that the guarding of the border is not just token, troops should be deployed that are capable of holding back for some time breakthroughs of the Russian border.)

The sum is huge and, for Russia, unaffordable in today's economic conditions. Therefore, border guards think, first and foremost there should be political decisions backed by real funds to strengthen the border in particular. They do appear, for example, in areas bordering on the Baltic countries. But even in this case the sums set aside are so meager that the border cannot be reliably closed off. To say nothing of providing adequate living conditions.

That the position with the CIS common border was bad became obvious as early as last year. Moldova, for example, took over the guarding of its own border. Using its sovereign right, it established a simplified, no-visa border-crossing procedure. Soon, Romanians could be seen as far away as the Russian-Korean border. Azerbaijan, too, undertook to guard its own border only to see Kurds, Iranians, and others begin to turn up on the Russian-Finnish border. All this makes Russian border guards stay on the border in Tajikistan, Georgia, and other places. Otherwise, specialists conclude, huge damage could be done to Russia's economic and military security. Border guards had to engage in armed clashes with Islamic gunmen and mojahedin on more than 50 occasions along Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan alone in the first six months of the year, especially where the border is guarded by the Pyandzh, Moskovskiy, and Khorog detachments.

Do Russian border guards regard the Tajik-Afghan border as their own, Russian border? Well, yes and no. No, because even if friendly, Tajikistan is a sovereign state and the border with Afghanistan is its border. Yes, because there is a treaty defining the status of the border between Russia and Tajikistan because there are no and there will not soon be Tajik border units. And this particular problem, like the problem of guarding the border of Russia in general, cannot be solved on one's own.

UN Envoy in Sochi To Facilitate Abkhaz Peace

Commission Being Formed

LD3007173693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1711 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi July 30 TASS—Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the State Committee for Emergency Situations, and Boris Pastukhov, the Russian president's special envoy and deputy foreign minister, attended on Friday [30 July] a conference in the Black Sea resort of Sochi. The conference was to name Russian members of the joint commission for peaceful settlement in Georgia's breakaway province of Abkhazia. Participants in the conference also discussed the questions to be submitted by Russian representatives to the first meeting of the commission, which is likely to be held in a few days, according to Pastukhov.

Russia's special envoy said the Georgian and Abkhazian leaders were now also selecting their representatives to the tripartite commission. Pastukhov reported that the special envoy of the U.N. secretary general, Eduard Brunner, visited the conflict zone not long ago. "We hope the U.N. Security Council will shortly send its observers to Abkhazia", he noted, describing the use of U.N. and CSCE possibilities for settling the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict as "a factor of great importance".

When asked by TASS of what he thought about repeated infringements of the cease-fire agreement by the warring sides, Russia's special envoy said "it would be naive to believe that peace may be established in Abkhazia immediately after cease-fire is declared. However, with every passing day since the agreement was signed, more and more people have been involved into its implementation. Large-scale and serious work is now getting underway, and this inspires us with hope", Pastukhov stressed.

Calls New Agreement 'Compromise'

LD3007213793 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1420 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Today, in an interview with Georgian TV regarding the Abkhaz cease-fire agreement reached in Sochi, Edouard Brunner, the U.N. secretary general's personal envoy, said that the present agreement, in contrast to previous ones, contains new, more perfect elements. First, this is an involvement of the U.N. forces in the process of the settlement of the conflict. This could be considered as the beginning of a new political process. He named a possibility of deploying U.N. international observers in the conflict zone as the second element of major importance.

Then Brunner said that in case any of the parties violate the agreement, the U.N. is authorized to condemn the violators.

Answering a question on whether the agreement was a submissive one, as it is considered by some Georgian political circles, Edouard Brunner said that it can rather be called a compromising one, and a compromise is always more acceptable than combat.

Meets Abkhaz Leader

LD3107124993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1150 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 31 Jul—A meeting took place today at Sochi's Adler airport between Edouard Brunner, special representative of the UN secretary general, and Abkhazia's Supreme Soviet Chairman Vladislav Ardzinba. Edouard Brunner also conversed with Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov and Sergey Shoygu, chairman of Russia's State Committee for Emergency Situations.

Both meetings took place behind closed doors. They discussed questions of the participation by international observers in the work of the Joint Commission for a Settlement in Abkhazia, and also the introduction of UN peacekeeping forces into the conflict zone.

According to Boris Pastukhov, his next meeting with Edouard Brunner will take place in Moscow on 3 August. At this meeting the UN representative's specific proposals regarding this international organization's participation in the settlement of the Georgian- Abkhaz conflict will be discussed.

Says International Conference May Be Held

LD3107224193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] A special emissary of the United Nations Secretary General, Edouard Brunner, has told the Russian news agency RIA an international conference may be held under the United Nations auspices to attempt to settle the Abkhazian conflict. Mr. Brunner met with the representatives of both Abkhazia and Georgia. He is confident the recently signed cease-fire agreement has on the whole been holding in the zone of the Abkhazian conflict. He says international observers are about to arrive in line with an earlier agreement in Georgia. The Georgian-Abkhazian conflict erupted about one year ago when the Abkhazian autonomy of Georgia proclaimed its sovereignty.

Team To Monitor Cease-Fire Observance in Abkhazia

LD0108164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1306 GMT 1 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 1 Aug—Members of a special team of the Russian State Committee for Extraordinary Situations are planning to arrive in Sochi on Tuesday, 3 August, an ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from a well-informed source. According to preliminary data, there are plans to set up a headquarters in Sochi to monitor the observance of the cease-fire regime in Abkhazia and to prepare for the arrival of international peace-keeping forces in the conflict zone.

Yeltsin, Uzbek Leader Agree to Central Asian Meeting

LD3107105293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1002 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul—The president of Uzbekistan has expressed agreement with a proposal by Boris Yeltsin that a special top-level meeting of the heads of state of Central Asian states and Russia be held shortly in Moscow to approve a concrete program of action to avert the threat to their common interests.

The president of Uzbekistan stated this after Anatoliy Adamishin, the Russian president's special representative and Russian first deputy foreign minister, had on Friday handed him a personal message from Boris Yeltsin concerning the events on the Tajik-Afghan border. The message emphasized the need for joint action to overcome the tension and to settle by political means the crisis that has arisen.

During the conversation Uzbekistan's point of view of the events occurring in the region was set out in detail. It was agreed in the spirit of established practice to maintain contacts, including at a working level, between the two countries on a broad range of matters concerning this problem.

'Hot Fall' Predicted Unless Black Sea Fleet Issue Resolved

PM3007123193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 3

[Vladimir Maryukha report: "Sevastopol: 'Hot Fall' of 1993?"]

[Text] The Russian parliamentary delegation, which attended the Navy Day festivities in Sevastopol, stated that it would be timely to allocate the Black Sea Fleet budget appropriations totaling more than 70 billion rubles. The decision on the status of Sevastopol was deemed hasty since the Black Sea Fleet is located not only at its main base but in many centers of the Crimea. This was why Russian Federation People's Deputy Yevgeniy Pudovkin advocated holding a referendum in the Crimea on the status of the entire peninsula—paralleling the question on Sevastopol's status.

It is well known that a moratorium has been declared on this referendum, and its cancellation could lead to an intensification of opposition by the population of the Crimea and the involvement of Black Sea Fleet sailors in that confrontation. Incidentally, these include the "hotheads" who have accused Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, of "handing over the fleet to Ukraine." This summer Baltin managed to interrupt the wave of meetings calling for the raising of the flag of St. Andrew. But what will happen in the fall—before and after the referendum?

But this is, as it were, an offensive by "pro-Russian" sentiments in the Crimea. The Ukrainian side is being equally active in demonstrating its reluctance to reach a compromise. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry believes that dividing up the Black Sea Fleet "50-50" is already a concession, and therefore no other options are possible. The republic's territorial integrity and its ratification of the START I Treaty are bound up in the same package as the Black Sea Fleet.

There is also a growing divergence of opinion within the Ukrainian Navy itself. Nikolay Kostrov, first deputy commander of the Ukrainian Navy, and Vladimir Bezkorovaynyy, who has been seconded from the Russian Federation Navy, are staking their claims to the post of Ukrainian naval commander—which is still occupied by Boris Kozhin, who has undergone an operation. The position of the first contender is more balanced. The second contender will still have to demonstrate his commitment to the "national idea" and is thus unpredictable.

The Russian and Ukrainian presidents have agreed to meet again and discuss the problems of the Black Sea Fleet. But no date has been set for the meeting—the republics have other things to worry about apart from dividing up the fleet. But if a decision is not reached before the referendum scheduled for 26 September, then it will be a "hot fall" in the Crimea.

Kozyrev Statement on Results of Geneva Peace Talks

LD3107134093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1215 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—The Press and Information Department of the Foreign Ministry has circulated a statement by Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, that says, in particular:

An important result has been reached at the Geneva talks on the settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina—the parties have worked out an agreement to create the United Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The constitutional framework for the coexistence of three peoples—Muslims, Serbs, and Croats—has been defined. This success has been made possible thanks to a constructive attitude on the part of all the participants in the talks. This attitude should be maintained and developed now, when the parties are to make the last step toward peace—to reach a compromise solution on the map of the territorial demarcation between the three republics that will make up Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A maximum of restraint in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself and around it is needed now more than ever. Everything possible must be done in order to give peace a chance. Any military activity should be halted immediately. The world community should implement its peacemaking potential to the full and firmly point out to the conflicting parties that there is no alternative to political solutions.

Churkin: 'Important Step' Taken

LD3107165693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0929 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva, 31 Jul—There is no doubt that an important step toward a general settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been taken at the present round of talks in Geneva. This is how Vitaliy Churkin, Russian Federation deputy foreign minister and special envoy of the president of the Russian Federation, assessed the importance of the constitutional agreement that has been reached by the sides here.

Naturally, he said in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, this is only an intermediate stage in difficult and long-term negotiations. At the same time, it provides evidence of a serious positive move forward in the process. I see it primarily in the fact that all the participants of the process have, in this instance, shown a desire to search for decisions acceptable to all sides. This is the conviction I have taken away from the meetings with the leaders of the Bosnian communities—

Izetbegovic, Karadzic, and Boban—and with members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and presidents of Serbia, Croatia, and Montenegro. [no quotation marks as received]

In the view of the Russian representative, the Serbs' active determination to reach accords was of major importance. He said that things were more difficult with regard to the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidium agreeing on a common position. One can and must understand this because, after all, it was made up of people with different views, notions, and political stands. But conversations with them, as well as with Izetbegovic, the presidium chairman, have shown that they are also determined to achieve positive results despite all of the vacillation.

Churkin said that the three sides in Bosnia have to agree on a number of issues, including such sensitive ones as the work on the map of territorial demarcation, now that a constitutional agreement has been reached on the basis of the document put forward by Stoltenberg and Owen. Here, too, there has been some movement, and there are not so many unresolved issues left. It is important for the participants in the negotiations not to delay formulating their counterproposals and not to lose the dynamics of the negotiating process. This is exactly what we have asked them to do.

Negotiations between the leaders of Bosnian Muslims, Serbs, and Croats will continue today in the Palace of Nations in Geneva. Churkin and Reginald Bartholomew, special representatives of the Russian president and of the U.S. administration, respectively, are staying in Geneva for the time being.

Envoy Meets Lebanon's al-Harari, Stresses Need for Talks

LD3007172993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1605 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Zelenin]

[Text] Beirut, 30 Jul—Moscow is seriously concerned at the way events are developing in southern Lebanon and calls on the parties involved to show restraint, Viktor Posuvalyuk, the director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Africa and Middle East Department, said today following his meeting with the country's president, Ilyas al-Harawi.

Speaking to local journalists at the Presidential Palace in Ba'abda, he stressed that the Middle East negotiations process must not be broken off as a result of scheming by extremist forces. As one of the initiators of the Madrid Peace Conference on the Middle East, Russia is doing all it can so that events in southern Lebanon do not affect the Arab-Israeli talks.

Posuvalyuk handed a message from the Russian leadership to President al-Harawi.

Effect of Israeli Shelling on Peace Talks Assessed

LD3107071693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Commentary by Andrey Popov; from the "Panorama" program]

[Text] The incessant shelling of Southern Lebanon have considerably complicated the situation in the Near East. Here is our correspondent Andrey Popov from Cairo:

[Popov] The number of those killed is already over 90 and there are over 400 injured. In response to the shelling of Lebanese territory, the resistance fighters, some of whom are the pro-Iranian Hizballah group, are shelling Israel itself. In Southern Lebanon, however, many have left their homes and are looking for salvation in the country's central regions.

Observers believe that these events will undoubtedly adversely affect progress at the peace talks, which are already under the threat of disruption. The point is that the United States, according to a statement by a PLO spokesman, has of late started interpreting differently UN Security Council resolution 242, and now allegedly the border between Israel and the Palestinian state must not correspond to the line dividing Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza in 1967. The PLO insists that the United States should change its pro-Israeli stance, the Egyptian EGYPTIAN GAZETTE notes, and acknowledge the Palestinians' right to territory including both the West Bank and the Gaza strip as well as East Jerusalem. The Palestinian leaders believe that only on such a basis can talks be conducted between them and Israel's representatives.

However, the Israeli leaders categorically reject the possibility of discussing the fate of East Jerusalem, inasmuch as they regard the entire city as the one and indivisible capital of the State of Israel.

Such a situation has arisen in the region today on the eve of the new visit here by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. He will undoubtedly attempt to bring pressure to bear on the confronting sides with a view to finding mutually acceptable compromises on various issues and continuing the peace conference in Washington. However, now he will find this considerably more difficult to do than during his past visit, when the leaders of the region's countries hoped for a balanced approach by U.S. diplomacy on the question of a peace settlement. A statement then on the full participation by the U.S. delegation in the talks could, it was assumed, influence the achievement of a quick settlement. However, from the time that has elapsed since then, it can be seen that nothing of what had been planned has yet been put into effect.

In order to achieve real peace in the region, what is needed first of all is that the participants in in this lengthiest conflict of our time should sincerely wish it.

Khasbulatov Trip to Saudi Arabia, UAE Postponed

LD0108063893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0626 GMT 1 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—A Russian parliament delegation lead by parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has postponed its visit to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates because of the extraordinary session that opened in Moscow on Saturday, the Russian parliament press-centre reported.

A new date of the trip will be announced later.

Parliamentarians Study Secret Service Monitoring in U.S.

PM3007113193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 1, 2

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Secret Visit to Washington: Russian Deputies Wanted To Find Out How Congress Monitors the American Special Services"]

[Text] Washington—The inspector general and general legal counsel of the CIA, the acting director of the FBI, the chief of the military intelligence college, and the Senate Intelligence Committee was the level of reception Washington afforded the Russian Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Nikolay Arzhannikov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Human Rights.

The delegation, which also included representatives of the Supreme Soviet Budget Committee, spent almost a week in the United States. It was there incognito: Even the Russian ambassador in Washington was unaware of its presence there, though the American ambassador in Moscow would have been automatically informed had a U.S. Congress delegation of similar rank been in Russia.

The aim of the visit was to study the system for the investigation and monitoring of the activity of the American special services by Congress and a diverse range of nongovernmental organizations and institutions, including, of course, the mass media. One further source of perplexity is why it is the Budget and Human Rights Committees rather than the Security Committee which are studying the problems of monitoring the special services.

Be that as it may, the visit was, I was informed at the international freedom foundation at whose invitation the Russian parliamentarians went to the United States, productive and useful. The deputies went home with a series of ideas as to how similar control could be organized in Russia.

Unfortunately, I did not manage to talk to any members of the delegation, whose trip was financed by the foundation out of a special grant from the USIA. I learned about the visit from informed sources after the delegation had returned to Russia. But the leaders of the foundation noted in conversation with me that the Russian parliamentarians "were greatly impressed by the level and scale of the monitoring of the activity of the special services practiced in the United States." At the same time, the parliamentarians complained that they themselves are kept virtually in the dark in Russia: They are not told the size of the Russian special services budget, where the money comes from and how it is spent, or the number of people working in the special services.

Lectures heard by our deputies included one by the former leader of the security section of the Senate Intelligence Committee and one on secrecy arrangements on Capitol Hill. Among other things, the parliamentarians were informed that all the committee's staff, including the humblest clerks, sign a nondisclosure agreement and that breach of its terms may result in dismissal and criminal proceedings.

Our parliamentarians also had a meeting with a TIME correspondent who writes on intelligence and counterintelligence matters: He explained the mass media's role in the general system of keeping tabs on the special services. Emphasis was placed, as far as I understand, on the fact that in American society accountability for the publication of secret information rests not with the journalists who have published the information but with those who made it public.

The visit, I repeat, was productive, although the fact that it was carried out with no press attention whatsoever, as if a team of intelligence officers were on a secret mission rather than a group of parliamentarians, can only cause bewilderment. But now we can only keep an eye on the ideas brought back to Russia from the United States and how they will be put into practice.

After the Russian parliamentarians had actually left, I did manage to see N. Arzhannikov, the leader of the delegation, who was staying on a few days in the United States, and ascertain his impressions of the meetings with the leaders of the American special services and representatives of organizations monitoring them.

As far as I understood from my conversation with the parliamentarian, the trip merely confirmed his ideas that there should be a special committee to monitor the special services, and not just the intelligence service. The creation of such a committee is envisaged by the draft law prepared by the Committee on Human Rights, which, as Arzhannikov acknowledged, is in conflict with the draft elaborated by the Committee for Defense and Security: The defense sector people would like to keep monitoring in their own hands. "But there needs to be a guarantee that it will be monitoring rather than lobbying," the parliamentarian said, noting that the Committee for Defense and Security is made up of "current staffers" of the relevant departments and establishments.

Another of the deputy's impressions is the conviction that "special procedures" must be set up in our parliament to ensure secrecy and the maintenance of state secrets.

In September Arzhannikov and his colleagues intend to go to Germany for the same purpose as they went to America—to look at how monitoring of special services' activity has been arranged. The draft law on the monitoring of the Russian special services will, the parliamentarian anticipates, be adopted by the end of the year.

Seriousness of U.S. Cutbacks on Defense Spending Questioned

LD3007222893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov; read by studio announcer]

[Text] The Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress has approved of a bill providing for $263 billion worth of military appropriations in the new fiscal year starting on 1 October. Vladislav Kozyakov comments:

Just recently the United States justified its huge military budget, approaching $300 billion, by references to a Soviet threat. These days nobody would even think of saying anything like that because the change in the situation in Russia and the whole world is quite obvious. However, the spending of the Pentagon Energy Department in charge of the production of nuclear arms and a number of other agencies involved in the military program will remain high. Authorized military spending this fiscal year totals $274 billion and next year only a little less—$263 billion.

Why is it that nobody seems to be in a hurry to receive peace dividends now that the Cold War is over?

U.S. Administration officials explain that in this way: True, there is no threat from the East, but there have emerged new threats, such as the risk of the proliferation of nuclear arms, local conflicts such as Iraq, Somalia, and former Yugoslavia and international terrorism.

Yet, let's be realistic. None of those dangers, nor all of them taken together, represent anything equal to global nuclear confrontation between Moscow and Washington which is now all in the past. So why the United States is in no hurry to reduce its military spending? [as heard]

Incidentally, the very same question is being asked these days in the United States, too. Just recently, experts of the Independent Defense Information Center in Washington published the results of a survey in which they call in question the need to keep the level of military spending at the Cold War level. They argue that America's interests abroad are primarily economic ones and that to protect them $200 billion on military needs a year would be quite enough. Even in that case, the Pentagon would be spending more than Germany, Britain, France, and Japan taken together.

Similar conclusions are found in another survey—the one presented by the Congressional Budget Office. THE NEW YORK TIMES said on Thursday that according to that survey the U.S. Navy could reduce its submarine fleet and the scale of its activity, thereby saving billions of dollars.

One more question: Is it really necessary to maintain spending on the anti-missile defense at a level of $3.8 billion at a time when the Star Wars program is officially terminated? The Armed Services Committee of the House is for reducing that article of military spending, too, which is evidence of growing opposition to the current scale of military programs.

The House of Representatives will meet in full-scale session next week to examine the Pentagon budget. Then it will become clear to what extent the American lawmakers are ready to take into account the opinion of experts in their own country and the new international realities.

That was a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov.

Railway Link With China, Mongolia, DPRK Proposed

LD3107131493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Russia, China, Mongolia, and North Korea have agreed to lay a railway that could service in future a free economic zone of international cooperation Tumangang [Korean name for Tumen River].

It will connect the city of Chita directly with a Russian port on the shore of the Sea of Japan. The (Zarubino) town will be the terminal. Rails are being linked up in the area of the Sino-Russian border.

Japanese bankers have shown a keen interest in the project. They have set aside 50 million U.S. dollars as a commercial credit.

Options of Asia-Pacific Security System Eyed

PM3007145193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Golts article: "Security in Asia—Necessity or Illusion?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] There have been some fundamental changes both in the world and in Asia in recent years. The Soviet Union has ceased to exist and the "cold war" has ended. Confrontation between Moscow and Beijing has become a thing of the past as well. But, strange as it may seem, the removal of these seemingly all-important causes of military instability has left the situation in Asia even more uncertain than before. This uncertainty is even visible in the fact that the recent trend toward a reduction in the U.S. and Russian presence in the Pacific region has been causing concern in a number of Asian capitals, which fear the emergence of a so-called power vacuum. The response to these fears may be the subregional arms race that is already beginning. Nor can we fail to mention that many foreign analysts are understandably concerned about the domestic political instability in Russia.

In this situation the creation of a pan-Asian security system seems a rational solution in the view of both politicians and representatives of government circles in a number of states. Precisely those states which, until recently, had been thinking exclusively in terms of blocs. During the Tokyo G-7 summit President Clinton put forward the idea of a new Pacific community. The galvanization of the Asia-Pacific states' role in promoting dialogue on regional security was also welcomed in the G-7 political declaration.

Strictly speaking, the foundations for such a multilateral dialogue are already in place. I am thinking of the recent conference of the foreign ministers of ASEAN, which includes Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Brunei. The heads of the diplomatic departments of the United States and Japan, and representatives of West Europe and certain Asia-Pacific states took part in the dialogue with ASEAN. The Russian and Chinese foreign ministers participated in the dialogue as guests. The conference decided to set up a new security structure—the ASEAN Regional Forum, which will include the six ASEAN countries, Japan, the United States, Australia, the Republic of Korea, Russia, China, and the EC.

The future of the Asia-Pacific region, Andrey Kozyrev stressed in his speech, lies in creating a kind of "regional security community." He proposed his own concept for creating a conflict prevention center within the Asia-Pacific region which would determine the gradual formation of a mechanism for preventing crisis situations. This mechanism presupposes promoting exchanges of military information, cooperation in settling dangerous incidents, and consultation in the event of unusual military activity.

In my view, the creation of a collective security system is of fundamental importance for Russia itself as well. And not only because it is the largest Asian power, with a fundamental interest in eradicating and averting conflict situations. Let us not forget that Russia continues to have considerable military power and, although this fact does not frighten our Asian partners in the way that it used to, it does nonetheless keep them on their guard. The creation of a collective security system would allow Moscow to allay these concerns. Moreover, Russia would have an opportunity to become one of the generally recognized guarantors of security in Asia, thereby enhancing its status. Many politicians in Asia realize this. The extremely favorable reaction of most Asia-Pacific countries to Russia's participation in the ASEAN forum was evidence of this. [passage omitted]

At the same time, a considerable proportion of international specialists see no need to convene a conference on security and cooperation in Asia, since they do not consider such a forum capable of solving existing problems. They note that conflicts in the region are caused by not one but many factors that are specific to each conflict situation. Consequently, they doubt that any general rules can be drawn up for settling these crises. And it is hardly rational, they believe, to involve all countries of the region in settling situations—including those which are not direct parties to the conflicts. They also point with some justification to the fact that in the postconfrontational era the system of all-European security has essentially been powerless to prevent or settle in good time such acute regional conflicts as those under way in the former Yugoslavia or on the territory of the former USSR.

In this connection it is being proposed that a pan-Asian conference should not be convened. Instead, countries should restrict themselves to consultations within the framework of separate subregions (Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, and South Pacific), and there should only be consultations on security problems which are exclusively of concern to those countries which form part of these subregions. There is a justification for this approach. And it is entirely possible that this route will be chosen by the Asian and Pacific states. But it seems to me that it is futile for the supporters of this approach to restrict the idea of collective security merely to political aspects, on the basis that settlements can only be achieved through reciprocal consultations. There are already some general principles of security in existence, whose implementation—even if they did not entirely resolve a conflict—would at least make it possible to move it in a civilized direction and rule out the use of force.

I am referring to the system of confidence-building and the restriction of military activity in certain countries determined by these measures. After all, nowadays (when we have the experience of the elaboration and implementation of the CFE treaty behind us), a discussion at a pan-Asian forum of specific levels of military sufficiency for each country seems quite likely. Having elaborated and agreed these levels, the Asia-Pacific states could break out of the vicious circle of mutual concern and fear of surprise attack.

Moreover, one effective form of safeguarding regional security might be to restrict, going so far as to completely ban, arms shipments to regions of existing or potential conflicts. What would be important here would be not only the decisions reached within the framework of a conference on security and cooperation in Asia, but also the fact that they would be backed up by the prestige of all Asia-Pacific states.

Thus, despite existing prejudices, politicians and analysts are again thinking about whether it would be possible to guarantee the security of Asian states through a balance of interests and multilateral accords. After all, Asia cannot enter the next century maintaining peace merely through the equilibrium of reciprocal threats.

Sweden Rules Russian Jews Have No Grounds To Seek Asylum

LD0108185593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Sweden's Council for the Affairs of Foreigners has come to the conclusion that anti-Semitism is not an official policy in Russia and for that reason Jews living in Russia have no grounds to ask for asylum in Sweden. The committee made the decision after a number of its members visited Moscow. They made the fact-finding trip following repeated requests by Russia's Jews for asylum in Sweden. The Swedish State Immigration Department has turned down these requests.

Poland Seeks Right To Broadcast TV to Russia

LD3007143693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0721 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Shamshin]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Jul—The Polish authorities are interested in relaying Polish television programs to Russia as reciprocation for Ostankino Television's right to broadcast to Poland. Russian Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev has been informed of this by Marek Markiewicz, chairman of the Polish Television and Radio Committee, who was authorized to do so by the Polish Council of Ministers.

According to PAP news agency, the authorities are now studying the possibility of reregistering broadcasting frequencies allocated to Ostankino's All-State Channel 1, whose programs are relayed to Warsaw. The Polish side is seeking an equal opportunity to inform Russian citizens about life in Poland. If Moscow refuses, the Polish authorities may take an administrative decision to halt the Russian television broadcasts.

Service Approves Provisions for Regulating Working Abroad

LD3007181993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 29 Jul 93

[From the "Time for Business People" program]

[Text] The Russian Federal migration service has approved a provision which regulates the procedure and conditions for issuing licences for the activities of Russian juridical persons that facilitate Russian citizens' going abroad to work. A RIA correspondent was informed about this at the news service of the federal migration service.

The provision prohibits organizations which receive state licences from taking money for registering citizens, receiving deductions from the wages of those employed abroad, and also any type of prepayment for help in finding employment before the conclusion of a labor agreement with a foreign investor.

Political Issues

'Imminent Coup' Predicted, Yeltsin's Health Cited

PM3007214993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 1

[Feature under "What They Are Saying" rubric incorporating report by State Counselor of Justice Viktor Ilyukhin, Georgiy Ovcharenko report on session of Democratic Russia Political Council, and Statement by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy under feature headline: "Is an Attack Being Prepared?"]

[Text] Report by Viktor Ilyukhin, state counselor of justice second class:

As has become known from sources, the Russian Ministry of Security has received information concerning preparations for an attack [pokusheniye] on R. Khasbulatov and A. Rutskoy. The individual assigned to carry it out is one Shunenkov, an ex-serviceman from the Baltic region. Although this is just one version. Others like Shunenkov may be active.

There is evidently no need to speak about the reasons for and the aims of the conspiracy. Other questions arise. Who stands behind the individual chosen to execute the mission. How is the Security Ministry operating now that V. Barannikov has departed? Will it suppress the attempt or will it stand aside? [Ilyukhin ends]

Report by Georgiy Ovcharenko:

The editorial office was still discussing whether or not to publish V. Ilyukhin's report and had already come to the conclusion that it was not worth it—in an already taut socioeconomic and political situation people should not be stirred up yet again—when new information arrived.

And if the material conveyed to the journalists contains even a grain of truth, it deserves to be made public. Especially on the day of the start of the emergency session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. We therefore publish it in full and unaltered.

"As has become known, on the night of 27-28 July 1993 there took place a session of the Democratic Russia Political Council at which a decision was adopted on replacing the top leadership of the state by means of a coup in the next few days.

"It is probable that the reason prompting recourse to these actions has been the sharp deterioration—in the opinion of the members of the Democratic Russia Political Council—in the health of the president and the possibility, in this connection, of his resignation or departure by other means [otstavka ili ukhod inym sposobom]. Here it has been deemed essential to impede by any means the creation of a state medical commission to examine the president's health.

"According to available information, wide-ranging actions are being prepared against the vice president of Russia with a view to compromising him in the eyes of the public, forcing him to resign, and preventing his taking power by constitutional means in the event of the president's departure [ukhod].

"This campaign was launched by Burbulis, who declared at a news conference that at forthcoming elections the 'Russia's Choice' bloc will not rely on the president and his team inasmuch as it considers them to have no future. It is characteristic that this statement generated neither protest nor denials in the 'democratic' press.

"The appearance by members of the government during live transmission of the program 'Public Opinion' on 'Ostankino' television's channel one on Wednesday 28 July 1993 must be judged in the context of this very campaign.

"The urgent dismissals from their posts of Barannikov and Dunayev and also the granting of leave to P. Grachev at this very time can be assessed as the first steps in the implementation of the plans.

"The campaign in the mass media over the blunder of the Central Bank and the government, a campaign directed against the Supreme Soviet and ostensibly in support of the president, must be evaluated in this same key. We are not in possession of information concerning the precise timing, methods, and forms of the implementation of the coup, nor of the specific individuals and forces which will be activated.

"The probability is not excluded that the session of the Political Council was of a provocative nature in furtherance of the aim of using disinformation to exert psychological pressure on the president, the vice president, and also the country's public."

You will agree that in this report we are talking about facts which are more than serious. Nevertheless, it is not excluded that such assertions serve the purpose of those who, at a difficult time for Russia, would like to accelerate a social explosion.

But we are asking the Democratic Russia Political Council, against which such serious charges are being made, to comment literally in PRAVDA's next issue on the material published today. [Ovcharenko ends]

"Statement by Aleksandr Rutskoy"

In recent days the atmosphere of political tension and alarm in the country has been exacerbated. The confrontation between the different branches of power is being inflated, the split within Russia's supreme state-political leadership is being aggravated. Such a development of the situation is the direct consequence of the purposeful efforts of the "party of radicals," which is seeking to usurp political and economic power in the country. Their previous attempts to achieve this by imposing on society a new, essentially dictatorial constitution, by means of an explosion within the organs of representative power and the defamation of those political figures and forces which act from healthy, genuinely democratic positions, did not meet with success. In these circumstances the radicals are resorting to a new bout of confrontation and the inflaming of political passions. They are being pushed into this by the complete failure of the economic policy of "shock therapy," the collapse of the financial system, the growth of social tension in society, and the entire loss of national-state reference points. There is only one conclusion—the radicals' policy is bankrupt and is at a complete dead end. In these circumstances they evidently see no solution other than the imposition of dictatorship on the country and society.

It is this that explains the fear of an imminent coup that has been implanted in society, the suspicion and the deliberate destabilization of the country. They are trying to involve the army and the organs of security and internal affairs in this shady affair. It is difficult to believe that the president of Russia is not informed of all this. The hasty removal of Russia's minister of security testifies that the anticonstitutional designs and actions of the radicals had been uncovered by the security organs.

At this complex moment I again call on all healthy forces of society to consolidate and to achieve national accord in the name of great Russia's revival and the ensuring of its democratic future. I appeal for the division in the supreme state leadership of Russia to be surmounted with the aim of elaborating a general national program to extricate us from the crisis. [Rutskoy ends]

Official Denies Yeltsin Illness Rumor

LD0208132193 Budapest MTI in English 1220 GMT 2 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow, August 2 (MTI)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's health is normal, an official of the president's press service told MTI today. Dmitriy Ardamatskiy denied a rumour carried in Monday's issue of "FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG" that Yeltsin was seriously ill.

Ardamatskiy said the Russian president's programme would go ahead as scheduled and on Thursday [5 August] he would travel to Orel for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the battle of Kursk.

Democratic Russia Notes Danger of 'Coup d'Etat'

PM3007125793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Sergey Krayukhin report: "St. Petersburg Headquarters of 'Democratic Russia' on Coup d'Etat in Preparation"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—A statement issued by the leaders of the headquarters for the preparation for elections says that while achieving victory in the referendum the supporters of the president and his reforms did not use the advantages that they had and tied their own hands by acting exclusively within the framework of laws laid down by a hypocritical and illegitimate Supreme Soviet. Now this neglected victory may end in defeat. Among the actions of the antireform offensive there are the May Day provocation by the reds and browns in Moscow, the series of antiprivatization decrees from the Supreme Soviet, and the provocative decree on Sevastopol.

In the opinion of the St. Petersburg headquarters of Democratic Russia, the situation has been sharply aggravated by the exchange of bank notes, which was not coordinated with the president and the government, an operation which shook Russia and undermined the government's prestige. In the same category is the adoption of a budget with a deficit which exceeds the entire annual income and will inevitably lead to further catastrophic inflation.

The Democratic Russia St. Petersburg headquarters notes the real danger of a coup d'etat by the reds and browns. It is demanding from the Russian president immediate measures making it possible to keep the "opposition's" activity within the limits of the law, active steps in the implementation of the economic reform, a Constituent Assembly, and early elections to the Russian parliament.

Shakhray Believes Government May Have To Resign

PM0208101193 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 21, 30 Jul 93 (signed to press 29 Jul 93) p 2

[Yuna Kozyreva report under the rubric "Statement": "Some People Could Pay in Kind for the New Bank Notes"]

[Text] It is quite possible, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray believes, that the price the present Russian government has to pay for its solidarity with the Central Bank in the money exchange affair will be its own resignation.

"Whether or not this was the intention, this action has been written into the scenario of the battle between the two branches of the power in the country, whereby the opponents, standing on quicksand, push one another with all their might, not noticing that they themselves are all the while sinking deeper and deeper into the mire," Sergey Mikhaylovich [Shakhray] stated at a press conference at the "Redisson-Slavyanskaya" hotel on Tuesday [20 July].

The effect produced on citizens, who overnight recalled the age-old Soviet tradition of writing numbers on the palms of their hands and who were unable to buy a loaf of bread because of lack of change—is difficult to overestimate. "Even Pavlov carried out his exchange in January, in the slack season, when at least there were no problems with vacationers," Shakhray recalled. "It is hard to find the long-term advantages of this step, and in any case they will not make up for the overall negative impact."

The president's "attenuating measures" will not manage to salvage the situation either. Yeltsin, ducking the "direct hit" of criticism somewhat belatedly, cannot today, in the vice premier's opinion, rely on "seizing the initiative" in the struggle for power and popularity among the people. It is rather a question of "hanging on to the vestiges" of this popularity. "The arsenal of weapons at the president's disposal is still very small. What can be expected from him is a series of none-too-remarkable cadre decisions. But the most important step would be talks with the other branches of power and a search for dialogue."

Theoretically the government, which has compromised itself by its involvement in the unpopular measures, has three opportunities for an "organized retreat," S. Shakhray believes: resignation of its own accord, dismissal by decision of parliament, or dismissal by decision of the president. If this were to happen somewhere in the West, one of these possibilities would probably be used. However, S. Shakhray stated, "Russia is an unusual country." As the saying goes, "it withstands everything, even widespread, cogent criticism..."

The question is only, how much longer will we have the strength to drag ourselves down this road, tillerless, rudderless, without agreement among the rulers, and without the lawful loaf of bread in the bakery?

Democratic Reform Offical on Barannikov Dismissal

LD3007152393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1210 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] It is believed that the president's decree sacking the security minister made Viktor Barannikov the man of the week. A news conference was held at the Russian Press House today. Sergey Grigoryants, the prominent defender of the law, chairman of the organizing committee of the international conference—entitled KGB Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow—stated at the news conference that the Security Ministry was in opposition to the government and the president. It has become more conservative than three to five years ago and is joining ranks with the ultra-patriotic and communist-minded members of the Supreme Soviet.

The Ministry continues to be inclined towards criminal methods of operation—I have quoted Sergey Grigoryants here. Sergey Yushenkov, member of the Council of the Democratic Reform Movement, had this to say about the causes for Barannikov's dismissal:

[Begin Yushenkov recording] Naturally, Viktor Barannikov's dismissal does not make for greater stability in society. However, Barannikov's retention in his post would have given an additional momentum to the process of destabilization of society. We have repeatedly told the president about it. A group of our deputies visited the president where he is on vacation and one of the problems discussed by us there was this problem.

One can very clearly discern certain specific goals behind some actions of the Security Ministry. It is the case that especially recently, the Security Ministry began to join ranks with the conservative circles within the Supreme Soviet, the Russian Federation General Procuracy and that, in fact, it began to place obstacles in the path of implementation of economic reforms.

Steps undertaken with Barannikov's knowledge and at his initiative, such as, say, the attempt to bring criminal proceedings against Ponomarev, Yakunin, the people's deputies, Viktor Mironov; or the participation of the Security Ministry's representatives in the search of Poltoranin's office and obstacles placed before Andrey Makarov as head of the commission in charge of investigating corruption serve, in my view, as the confirmation of this.

All this, taken together, bears witness to the fact that Barannikov failed to follow the formula he repeatedly voiced—that, as he used to say, the Security Ministry does not play any political games, but simply serves the law. Here we have a rather selective attitude to the law on Barannikov's part. As for the attempts to impute crimes to Shumeyko, Poltoranin, and other officials, these became altogether a farce. At the same time, we see that the Security Ministry is absolutely powerless to combat the wave of crime and corruption Russia has been engulfed by. We see that, in fact, the Security Ministry, its relevant structures, tolerate instances when ethnic strife is fanned up; they tolerate the propaganda of fascist and nationalist ideas.

Apart from that, as you know, Barannikov was active in support of the border troops falling within the remit of the Security Ministry and, in fact, he left the border troops to their own devices—the recent, tragic events along the Tajik-Afghan border, up to and including operational details, bear a more than convincing witness to this. It was impermissible to leave a detachment, say, without any help whatsovever for several hours and so on and so forth. Political aspects of these actions aside, I am here talking simply of the operational side of the matter.

Finally, it is absolutely impermissible to make use of your official position while in a post such as this. There are documents about this. Some of them will, of course, be made public and some of them will not. The reaction of, say, the irreconcilable opposition, is in this context simply amazing. Three or four months ago, many of them demanded Barannikov's dismissal. Only a year ago the speaker of the Supreme Soviet insisted on this at a Supreme Soviet session, waving documents in his hand allegedly proving that Barannikov violated the law.

Such is the web Khasbulatov weaved around Barannikov—and now that it would seem that the speaker's voice has at long last been heard and Barannikov removed, the speaker actively sets about retaining Barannikov in his post. Generally speaking, you must have noticed that there is in fact no single opposition force that would not take up the cudgels in Barannikov's defense. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Journalists were worried by the question whether Barannikov was removed because, indeed, he knew too much about corruption within the government. Yushenkov replied that, of course, such people may be found among the government apparatus officials, but accusations against Shumeyko and Poltoranin were a concoction, for, if it were otherwise, the Security Ministry would have had incontrovertible proof of their corruption.

Kalugin Says Barannikov's 'Loyalty' Was in Doubt

PM3007142993 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 21, 30 Jul 93 (signed to press 29 Jul 93) p 2

[Commentary by KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin, retired, under the "Dismissals" rubric: "Barannikov Lost Trust. And His Job With It. KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin, Retired, Comments on Russian Security Minister Barannikov's Dismissal"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] So what happened with the Russian security minister? What is subtle is also simple: Barannikov lost the political trust of President Yeltsin.

In the intensifying clash between the executive and the legislature, between reformers and the opposition, Barannikov—possibly sensing changes in the correlation of forces between them, or on the strength of his own convictions—began to incline toward the president's opponents.

Remember, a few months ago, when Khasbulatov summoned the leaders of the power ministries and publicly demanded from them assurances of loyalty to the Supreme Soviet, Ministers Yerin and Grachev gave assurances that they submit to the Law. Barannikov named the Constitution as his guiding star. It is no secret to anyone that the Constitution is the hobbyhorse of the speaker of the Russian parliament. The minister of security was angling to mount it too. And where did Rutskoy's 11 suitcases come from? Who filled them with secret documents and gave the opposition the opportunity to make use of sensational, unverified materials? And who, finally—clearly in panic—is demanding the convocation of a Supreme Soviet session in order to reinstate Barannikov? Those who find his departure a blow to their ambitious plans for changing the country's political direction.

But neither does the president have the right to keep in his team ministers whose loyalty is a cause for serious doubts.

Security Official Cited on Barannikov Resignation

PM0208112093 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Khokhlov: "Why Was Barannikov 'Given the Push?' Many Stories, Few Replies"]

[Text] The biggest political bombshell of the past week was undoubtedly the resignation of Russian Security Minister Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov. The resignation was hasty and unexpected even to people no longer surprised by anything after all the chekists' "perestroykas."

The real reasons for the minister's resignation will perhaps become known after some years. Unless of course Viktor Pavlovich himself starts talking—he is a taciturn, unsmiling man who put the former KGB back on its feet after the "reform" of the organs by Bakatin. It is terrible even to imagine what will happen if the former chief of the Lubyanka tells everything he knows.

In any case this resignation is not the first in the forthcoming sequence and in the very near future we shall see plenty of dirty linen. It is futile to try to obtain any commentaries among chekists now. But in an unconstrained talk with your correspondent one knowledgeable man from the Lubyanka made a few suggestions. "If you have even a little knowledge of the political 'kitchen,'" he said. "You yourself can say what is true.: For you I can only conscientiously repeat what I heard. Think and decide for yourselves.

"The resignation of the Russian Federation Security Ministry chief is in some way (most likely indirectly) linked with the arrival in Moscow from Switzerland of a young but nonetheless important man: Dmitriy Yakubovskiy. The list of people who met him at the airport included Internal Affairs Minister V. Yerin, lawyer A. Makarov, journalist A. Karaulov, and a large turnout from the president's 'Alfa' guard group. Rutskoy asserts that Barannikov had in his hands an order from Prosecutor General Stepankov for the arrest of Yakubovskiy, which he reported to President Yeltsin on either Monday or Tuesday."

"The best weapon in the political struggle in Russia today is two or three noisy exposes of corrupt officials. The question of the date of the start of the 'merciless struggle against the mafia' also lies in who is the first to say 'heads' while managing to hide his own 'tails.' Barannikov undoubtedly knew too much about the thieves from both camps and thus became inconvenient."

"In preparing for the resolute battle for power the president decided to 'exclude' the security ministry from the game. Having removed Barannikov, whose loyalty he had begun to doubt, and having replaced him with (only the "acting" minister) Golushko, Yeltsin could be sure that without a unified coordinating center in Moscow the Security Minister (or better, as it used to be called, the KGB) would not protest when he stepped somewhere far beyond the 'constitutional field,' which the Security Ministry is in general called on to guard..."

These "suggestions" are not mine, but those of a chekist officer. Which version should we "point a finger at?"

Having completed this comment, I looked at the calendar. Well, well! Already a whiff of August in the sky...

Grigoryants, Yushenkov Offer Reasons for Removal

MK3107122093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 5

[Mikhail Lashch report: "Crisis at Security Ministry Was a Foregone Conclusion"]

[Text] Security Minister Viktor Barannikov's resignation evoked a fairly lively reaction both in parliament and in the Kremlin. Both sides, however, offer their own accounts of the events that prompted the president's decision. So, Aleksandr Rutskoy alleged in the "Parliamentary Hour" program that Barannikov was fired because, in accordance with a warrant issued by General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov, he tried to detain Dmitriy Yakubovskiy, who had arrived in Moscow illegally. The president's loyalists deny Rutskoy's claim. Sergey Grigoryants, chairman of the "Glasnost" public fund, and Deputy Sergey Yushenkov, speaking before journalists at a press conference held yesterday at the Russian Press House, expressed their view of the latest reshuffle at the top posts in the Security Ministry.

Sergey Grigoryants, who is now researching the activity of Russian secret services, noted that he had long ago predicted the crisis currently experienced by the Russian Security Ministry. In Grigoryants' view, the Security Ministry is now much more "conservative" than it was five years ago. In corroboration of this statement Grigoryants cited incidents when chiefs who tried to reform the agency were ousted from the state security structures.

At present, Grigoryants said, the Russian Security Ministry is set in opposition both to the state and society: The law "On State Secrets," drawn up in the agency, "maintains the atmosphere of fear and secrecy in society." Many people among the current secret services personnel with whom Grigoryants happened to get acquainted are, in his opinion, under the influence of clearly maniacal ideas.

Deputy Sergey Yushenkov believes that Barannikov's removal will not contribute to stability in society. Lately it became evident, however, that the Security Ministry was joining forces with the conservative wing in the Supreme Soviet and the general prosecutor's office. It was this trend, Yushenkov said, that prompted the president's decision to dismiss the minister. Furthermore, Yushenkov thinks that the investigation into the cases of misuse of office by Vladimir Shumeyko and Mikhail Poltoranin, including a search in the latter's office, was launched with Viktor Barannikov's consent.

Finally, it can be concluded from Yushenkov's statement that Barannikov's ouster was caused not so much by his wife's flights abroad on an official plane, but rather by the former state security chief's opposition to Andrey Makarov, a lawyer who is acquiring more and more significant clout in the president's political team.

Paper Corrects Piece on Barannikov Ouster

PM0208094993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed correction: "Regarding the Article 'Viktor Barannikov Has Come Unstuck..."; for referent article please see the 29 July Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT page 17]

[Text] An error occurred in the article by A. Illesh and V. Rudnev entitled "Viktor Barannikov Has Come Unstuck. Who's Next?" carried in IZVESTIYA on 29 July.

The wife of former Russian Security Council Secretary Yu. Skokov did not actually go to Switzerland with the wife of former Security Minister V. Barannikov at the invitation of the businessman B. Bierstein.

As we have been informed on behalf of Yu. Skokov, chairman of the Federation of Commodity Producers of Russia and leader of the Center for Interregional and Interethnic Economic Problems, Milada Skokova knows neither V. Barannikov's wife nor B. Bierstein, has never been to Switzerland, and has not traveled abroad at all in recent years.

Yeltsin Accepts Parliament Challenge, Signs Property Edict

MK3007102093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 38, 30 Jul 93 (signed to press 29 Jul) p 2

[Aleksandr Bekker commentary under "Privatization" rubric: "President Imposes Edict on Supreme Soviet's Decree. But State Committee for Property Management Sustains Losses]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In charging the State Committee for Property Management [Goskomimushchestvo, GKI] to "complete work on the draft state privatization program" for 1993, Boris Yeltsin made it clear that the Chubays department still enjoys his trust and therefore remains manager of state property. This in fact neutralized the second decree by the Supreme Soviet on delegating the power to administer property to the government, which would have meant neutralization of GKI.

Yet the squabble over the parliament's demarche did not pass painlessly for GKI. The May edict instructed the GKI, "by taking into account the opinion of relevant ministries and departments," to determine the line to take with enterprises that will not be subject to privatization. This was followed by serious battles between Anatoliy Chubays and the Ministry of Transport, the State Committee for Industry, the Russian Committee for Defense Industries, and partially the Fuel and Energy Ministry. The branch commanders sought to reserve the most "juicy" enterprises for state management and obtain a "gold stock" which would ensure them a controlling share. As a result, the 26 presidential edict contained a point on adjusting "the decisions on creating holding companies" to the Supreme Soviet's decree which resurrected the ministries' pet idea of a state holding.

As the "industrial party" wing within the Council of Ministers—led by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, his right- and left-hand men Oleg Lobov and Oleg Soskovets—strengthened its positions, the question arose about fully isolating GKI or removing its chairman. Yeltsin's July edict suggests that a compromise has been found on terms quite painful for Mr. Chubays and fairly unpleasant for the generation of new Russian entrepreneurs. Now branch ministers, having reached agreement among themselves and the directors of enterprises under their control, can distribute the stocks of enterprises slated for privatization among themselves. It is not enough that the opinion of the working collective can be easily ignored, but the "cross-pollination" of enterprises itself is not limited in any way: The current limit of 20 percent of stock has been successfully broken.

Commenting for SEGODNYA on the situation that has emerged, Anatoliy Chubays said that "there is a whole number of functions which should be delegated to sectoral ministries, and two weeks ago I signed a corresponding executive order. There is no advantage for one side or the other here—this is a compromise. The main thing is that it should be professional. In the near term we shall announce what particular compromise solution has been found and how the powers have been distributed between GKI and the branch ministries." [passage omitted]

Lobby Increasing Parliament 'Conflict' With Government

MK3007124093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 1, 3

[Dmitriy Kamin report: "Supreme Soviet Emergency Session. Directors Await Decisive Action From Parliament"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] By all appearances, the Supreme Soviet leadership's restraint in formulating a legislative package in support of the directors is attributable to the fact that the industrialists lack a combined and agreed upon package of demands. For this package to be drawn up, the parliament needs to combine the efforts of the most serious spokesmen of Russian industry, while coordinating their actions. As the results of the All-Russian Conference showed, however, the Supreme Soviet is unable to control the industrial opposition. Nonetheless, prospects for the increasing influence of the Federation of Commodities Producers, boosted by the election of Yuriy Skokov as its chairman, give grounds to assume that the package will be drawn up by the time the economic congress convenes.

The parliament will apparently determine the date of the convening of the congress in the near future. At the same time, the congress' results will largely depend on the preparatory work done by specialized economic committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet. Another important factor appears to be the efficiency of cooperation between Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Vladimir Ispravnikov, who is supervising the drafting of economic legislation, and Yuriy Skokov, chairman of the Federation of Commodities Producers.

Besides, the balance of forces at the congress will be determined by the actions that may be taken by the Council of Ministers under Viktor Chernomyrdin. The prime minister may in principle support Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov's efforts to reach compromise between the parliament and the government. In this event, the executive branch will have to satisfy some of the economic and political requests advanced by the industrialists in order to assuage the disgruntlement of the directors lobby, which pushes the parliament's leadership toward the heightening of their conflict with the government.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts note that the top officials in the legislative branch have no intention yet to fall out with Viktor Chernomyrdin completely, because they have not given up attempts to set up an anti-presidential alliance involving the government. This scenario, however, appears unlikely.

Chernomyrdin Opens Government Presidium 29 Jul

Urges Ministers To Support Harvest

LD2907121193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Report by correspondent S. Milyanchikov]

[Text] A routine meeting of the Presidium of the Russian Government began at Staraya Square this morning. Opening the meeting, Viktor Chernomyrdin, contrary to the previously confirmed agenda, called on the ministers of finance, economy, and fuel and power to take urgent measures to support the countryside in the harvest period and, in the first instance, to look carefully at how the monetary and material resources which have already been allocated get through to individual farms. The prime minister said that the superhuman efforts which had been expended on the sowing should not be allowed to go to waste.

The members of the Presidium then examined the question of improving the work of Russia's state tax service. In the afternoon there are plans to discuss a question that has been postponed several times: The question of paying off debts in goods on obligations owned by citizens. They will also discuss the question of financing the supply of material resources to the state reserve. It is also planned to discuss changes and additions to the law on state and municipal entrprises.

It is not ruled out that the members of the Presidium will discuss the monetary reform carried out by the Central Bank.

Discusses Harvest, Taxation

PM3007141993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 1

[Lyubov Dunayeva report: "No State Without Taxes"]

[Text] Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin opened a routine session of the Council of Ministers Presidium and gave his impressions of his trip to Saratov and Orenburg Oblasts.

He said that this year's harvest is expected to be unprecedented. The government put its all into the current sowing campaign even though it had to constrain industrial production units and even military-industrial complex enterprises.

Regrettably, V. Chernomyrdin said, questions of funding have still not all been fully resolved. There are still problems with fuel and transport supplies. But the harvest must be safeguarded at whatever cost and grain even accepted for storage free of charge.

Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets then continued the Presidium session. The main questions facing the present Presidium concern the tax service and the settlement of commodity arrears. There is not enough equipment, namely computers—without which no tax service in the world can operate—to organize a tax service. The problem of funding is still acute.

Around 750 billion rubles [R] are due in taxes—income for the state—and there is therefore only one conclusion—the tax service must be reinforced. The question of settling commodity arrears arising from vouchers held by citizens proved hard to resolve at the Presidium session. The state needs around R3 trillion to wipe out the arrears. If it now gives this money to citizens, that means putting a vast amount of money onto the market without supplying the goods. And that will result in a fresh spurt of inflation.

But the state still has a commitment and it has therefore been decided for the time being to ponder a mechanism for compensating citizens who hold these vouchers. And perhaps start paying compensation this year for "Harvest-90" checks. Regrettably, the incumbent government inherited this problem from those people whose initiative went unpunished.

Activities of Chernomyrdin, Vice Premiers Reported

PM3007141193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Excerpts] **Trips, Meetings**

As always on Thursdays, Russian Government Head Viktor Chernomyrdin held a session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium yesterday. [passage omitted]

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov chaired a session of the Ministry of the Economy Collegium. It discussed in particular questions of preparing for the coming session of the Council of Ministers on the results of the first half-year, due to be held, probably, 6 August.

During the afternoon First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets took part in a session of the commission formulating an alternative concept for the implementation of industrial policy. His work schedule also included a meeting with Kaliningrad Oblast Administration Head Yu.S. Matochkin.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin devoted a considerable proportion of his working day on international contacts. He met with A. Gambler, general director of the European branch of the well-known firm Philip Morris, and then with Robert de Kotre [name as transliterated], executive director of the International Bank [as published].

After the Council of Ministers Presidium session, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray took part in a meeting on problems of North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov was at work in Anadyr. His trip is connected with resolving matters of ensuring supplies and shipments of output and commodities to areas of the Far North and the Far East. [passage omitted]

Rutskoy, Filatov Discuss Vice Presidency

LD0108092393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1035 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By correspondents Valeriy Vyzhutovich and Lyudmila Telen consisting of recorded clips of interviews with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Presidential Chief of Staff Sergey Filatov; dates of interviews not given; from the "Political Kitchen" program]

[Excerpts] [Video shows interview with Rutskoy] [Vyzhutovic] When was the last time you met the president one-on-one?

[Rutskoy] One-on-one? It's difficult to remember. About three months ago.

[Vyzhutovich] What was the conversation about, if of course it is not a state secret?

[Rutskoy] No, it cannot be a state secret. This was before the March address where I proposed a form, a system, and approach for a management and regulation process for current economic processes and the progress of economic reforms.

[Video shows interview with Filatov and Rutskoy]

[Filatov] The final split [took place] after the referendum.

[Telen] What was the reason for the final split?

[Filatov] Well, as I understand it, after the March events, the events of 20 March, when there were principal disagreements over the presidential decree, do you remember?

[Telen] Yes.

[Filatov] When there was a congress, the positions became well-defined. They were already in opposition at that point. Naturally, the president opted for a referendum, and both sides started to prepare for the referendum. That is, the president's side, and the other side which did not support him. At that point the vice president did not go with the president. He probably expected, just like the Congress of People's Deputies, an outcome which would cause a different balance of forces.

[Rutskoy] Gennadiy Eduardovich [Burbulis], Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, and Poltoranin suddenly became embarrassed, and many others did as well; the attitudes towards me were being formed in the context that I did not belong to that herd. I cannot belong to their herd. They were constantly whispering in the president's ears that Rutskoy had said this, that and the other.

[Vyzhutovich] Who was whispering?

[Rutskoy] No doubt, Gennadiy Eduardovich and Poltoranin, there are plenty of them. It is all about ulterior motives, ulterior motives; it is not coincidental at all. Relations with me flared up like this several times over the two years. There were intermittent periods, but they happened at least once in three months. The president was being told that I was a Colonel Blimp, all boot tops and whiskers [soldafon, golenishche s usami], I was called a general with such sarcasm, it sounded as though I was a prostitute or a racketeer. This was the kind of aura in which I, the vice president, was presented to the president.

[Telen] Did Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin propose to Rutskoy that he retire?

[Filatov] That came out in the press.

[Telen] But they did not talk about it personally?

[Filatov] I was not there at the time. I think that there was a conversation like that and that it was suggested. In any case, as you know, Boris Nikolayevich openly expressed a proposal for the vice president to resign at a meeting with journalists.

[Vyzhutovich] Just look: There was a period when Rutskoy criticized Yeltsin's policy but maintained his personal loyalty to him. In any event his criticism was not personal criticism.

[Telen] I think that Rutskoy's conduct was quite understandable. First of all there was the struggle for the president, the struggle for influence over the president. There was Burbulis and Poltoranin on one side and Rutskoy on the other side. Rutskoy lost this struggle. He lost and was sidelined. He lost contact with the president, he lost his confidence. We are not going to talk about the reasons for this, there were various reasons. But then, when he understood that the struggle for the president was lost, he decided to play an independent political role which he cannot play because of his office, because of the post he occupies. Therefore, contrary to all canons and contrary to all traditions he began to play an independent role.

[Video shows interview with Rutskoy]

[Rutskoy] The president's basic mistake was that he allowed immoral people to get very close to him. He has allowed them to get very close to him.

[Vyzhutovich] To whom are you referring?

[Rutskoy] Relations with them have become so deep that he has become dependent on them. This should not be done. Subordination should be observed—not distance, but subordination. The appropriate relations should exist between an official and a higher official in the state. Where meetings are concerned—perhaps not in an official situation—everything should take place against a background of subordination.

Otherwise, what do you see? A puppet theater. There is Poltoranin and Burbulis, the habitues and the advisers. Well, they have given their advice.

[Video shows interview with Filatov]

[Telen] What powers does the vice president still have today?

[Filatov] The vice president no longer has any powers. All his powers are determined by the tasks which the president allocates. What tasks can the vice president be given when they might be turned against you? Just think about it. In this situation how can you ask him to do anything or instruct him to do anything?

[Video shows interview with Rutskoy]

[Rutskoy] On a purely personal level I feel rather uncomfortable. I am totally isolated and I do not even have the right to request entry permits into the Kremlin. This is considered according to the same procedure as for visitors who are citizens of the Russian Federation or foreign visitors.

[Vyzhutovich] Who requested the entry permits for our film unit?

[Rutskoy] Well, you see, there is a selective approach to this matter. There have been a mass of cases when people have not been allowed into the vice president's office. They have requested entry permits or people have had to stand outside the Kremlin doors for three or four hours.

[Vyzhutovich] Let us recall the scandalous episode when journalists were not allowed in to your news conference. Who gave the instruction for them not to be admitted?

[Rutskoy] I have asked Filatov on several occasions, in writing and verbally, to provide written documents which would set out the system for protecting the vice president, the rights, the powers, the right to request entry permits and so on. I have not yet received this written document.

[Vyzhutovich] That is very interesting. How then does this happen? On the basis of verbal instructions, telephone calls? How is it done?

[Rutskoy] It is totally arbitrary.

It is done very simply. I can only guess. In the first place none of the president's administration, including the head of the administration, would be so bold as to reduce the rights of a constitutional personage. So, this is all being done with the blessing of the president.

[Video shows interview with Filatov]

[Telen] The vice president's apparatus was reduced after his duties were reduced. These duties reduced on the initiative of the president, but was the apparatus reduced on your decision or also on instructions from the president?

[Filatov] On instructions from the president, though naturally I made the reductions.

[Video cuts to different part of same interview]

[Filatov] Such opposition on the part of the vice president towards the president is incomprehensible to me from the personal point of view. How can anyone use such, at times, foul words in the president's residence to refer to the president, himself? No one can understand this. It is sheer nonsense. No matter from what point of view you look at it, from the legal, the moral or the personal, from any point of view. It is quite incomprehensible.

I consider that it is simply impossible to permit anyone in the president's residence to create such situations be it with correspondents or meetings with anyone else, to permit anyone to hold such mass measures which were openly directed against the policy of the president, against the president himself, against the president, personally, as an individual.

Therefore, we are now looking at the possibility of setting up a residence for the vice president which he can establish for himself, in accordance with the law, his own procedures, those which he requires, which he needs and which are to his liking. Then, in that residence he can, so to say, work and carry out those measures which he wishes. [passage omitted]

[Video shows interview with Rutskoy]

[Rutskoy] Instead of really pursuing the fight against crime and corruption they started to spy on the vice president and the the Supreme Soviet chairman. They instituted spying and a criminal investigation. [passage omitted]

[Rutskoy] At present, the procurator general is examining questions of gold, red mercury, corruption in the Armed Forces, embezzlement of state strategic resources, violations, questions of foreign economic activity and so on and so on. Now an interesting theme is being added—oil.

[Video shows interview with Filatov]

[Filatov] I, myself, asked the vice president on several occasions: Where are these materials? Let us have a look at them. But he replied: It is not the right time yet, just wait a bit, there is no need to check anything yet, there are some things which still need to be found out, and so on. But in the end it came out and you know what came out of it. [passage omitted]

[Video shows interview with Rutskoy]

[Vyzhutovich] What do you think your chances are in the fight for the post of president?

[Rutskoy] Well, I have already told you that before you can fight for the post of president, you have to be nominated. We shall see. Frankly speaking, it would be quite enough for me if I just make sure that such people never again rise to power.

[Video shows interview with Filatov]

[Filatov] I think he has no chance at all. Because you know, it was once possible to conceal what you really are. Today, however, it is all too obvious. I believe that if there is one thing that our people cannot stand in any form, it is treason. [passage omitted]

Justice Minister on New Commission on Corruption

LD3007225193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Interview with acting Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov by correspondent Sergey Varlavskiy; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] The president of Russia, who is concerned by the fact that a number of state officials have been accused of corruption, has set up a group, within the framework of the interdepartmental commission of the Russian Federation Security Council, on the fight against crime and corruption in order to examine these facts, the circumstances, and accusations. In connection with this, our correspondent interviewed Yuriy Kalmykov, the acting Russian justice minister and head of the newly formed group.

[Kalmykov] This commission has been set up in order to study these materials and, while not substituting for the activity of the law enforcement bodies, to give full information to the president who might take some measures, or simply assess these factual circumstances. We already have quite a lot of facts that show that certain individuals were indeed involved in corruption.

[Varlavskiy] According to Kalmykov, the commission did not want to publish these facts but conjectures by the press and, finally, General Dunayev's speech at the Supreme Soviet Presidium accusing Interior Minister Yerin of violations, forced him to speak on the television news. The facts and documents that Kalmykov cited relate to the recent visit by Dunayev's wife to Germany where everything was paid for her by the firm belonging to the brother of the infamous Yakubovskiy, and which show that Dunayev had a special relationship with Yakubovskiy; incidentally he illegally awarded Yakubovskiy with a Russian Interpol silver medal. But isn't the investigation of General Dunayev's and his wife's activity simply a response to criticism?

[Kalmykov] This is not the issue, and it is not a question of a political reason, which many mass media want to talk about. It is a question precisely of breaking the law for mercenary reasons, and of the fact that no slur must be put on the honor and dignity of an individual holding such an office.

[Varlavskiy] So, all officials in the highest echelons of power are under investigation by you?

[Kalmykov] Yes. All officials in the highest echelons of power, whether they be from executive structures, representative structures, etc. Really we should have pooled all efforts—our efforts, those of the law enforcing bodies, and from our group—because if the executive and legislative powers see some kind of dirty trick, political provocation, and a political motivation in some moves and actions of this group, then we will not achieve anything. We can simply remove several individuals while we have to pool efforts to bring order, firstly to the highest echelons of powers, and then deal with corruption at the lower levels.

[Varlavskiy] Could you assess the extent of corruption in the highest echelons of power?

[Kalmykov] There is an awful lot of work, an awful lot.

Constitutional Process 'Undermined' by Khasbulatov

PM3007144393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Dyarchy Is Dangerous for Russia. Public Committee of Democratic Organizations and Union of Cossack Troops Insist on Early Elections to New Parliament This October"]

[Text] Public organizations of a democratic orientation have said that the normal development of the constitutional process is being undermined by the actions of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and above all of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, its Chairman R. Khasbulatov, and those who have for a long time been keenly manipulating it.

The series of actions undertaken by opponents of the reform course, in reformers' opinion, include the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree "On the Status of the City of Sevastopol," which effectively constitutes political provocation; the package of documents on privatization drafted by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet; the suspension of the Russian Federation President's edict on privatization; and the decision to transfer the powers of the State Committee for the Management of State Property to sectoral ministries. The ratification of the 1993 budget, which envisages an insane deficit of over 22 trillion rubles, could be catastrophic for the economy. Among the series of actions designed to destabilize the situation are the searching of M. Poltoranin's office, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's hasty agreement to institute criminal proceedings against V. Shumeyko, and the holding of the All-Russia Economic Conference, which raised inter alia the purely "economic" question of the need to immediately abolish the post of Russian Federation President and transfer all power to the Supreme Soviet. The decision by the Central Bank of Russia, accountable to the Supreme Soviet, to remove banknotes issued in the period 1961-1992 from circulation, and the effort to heap the blame for the dire consequences of this move without justification onto the president and the Russian Federation Government, constitute another extremely dangerous piece of provocation.

The greatest fears are aroused by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium's campaign to delay the examination of the draft Russian Federation Constitution by representative organs of power within the components of the Federation—a constitution prepared by the Constitutional Conference with the participation of representatives of the components of the Federation themselves—along with the attempt to submit several draft constitutions for the consideration of the 10th Congress of People's Deputies in November and thus totally wipe out the Constitutional Conference's work. Not only is the Russian Federation President's request to components of the Federation thus being disregarded, but so is the will of Russia's citizens.

Dyarchy is dangerous for any state. But it is doubly dangerous when the old system is being destroyed, during a time of transformations when it may bring about the breakup of the state or start a civil war. The transfer of all power to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, on which the opposition is insisting, will end in the total collapse of the Russian economy and incalculable trouble for its citizens.

Political parties and blocs are asked to begin consultations on the question of early elections.

Constitutional Court Rejects Press Rebukes

PM3007132193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Russian Federation Constitutional Court Press Service report: "Constitutional Court Remains True to Itself"]

[Text] Over the past few days the Constitutional Court has been rebuked by certain publications for allegedly being inactive and, for instance, failing to see the threats to the constitutional system contained in statements by members of certain social organizations or individuals. And telling references are made to the Court's actions in connection with the events of 20 March this year.

These passages, in the opinion of the press service, are nothing other than an attempt to draw the Court into political skirmishing or to encourage it to break the law. After all, under the law, the Constitutional Court is not entitled to react officially to public statements by individuals, be they participants in meetings of the National Salvation Front or of "Democratic Russia." **This falls within the purview of the executive and the appropriate law enforcement organs.** The forecasts and intentions of certain top officials, even if expressed inappropriately, also cannot be investigated by the Constitutional Court.

We would recall that the Constitutional Court is entitled at its own initiative to give its opinion of the constitutionality only of actions and decisions by top officials in Russia and the republics comprising it. Therefore any reference in articles to the Court's operational decisions in connection with the events of 20 March, when the Court, observing all the procedures of constitutional law, gave its opinion on the constitutionality of the actions (rather than the forecasts or intentions) of the top official, was prompted at best by ignorance of the essence of the matter.

The Constitutional Court should not and will not react to any political statement, however sensational it may be, and does not plan to satisfy the political ambitions of certain opposed forces.

Economic Issues

Further on Decision To Withdraw Bank Notes

Fedorov Denies Khasbulatov Claims

LD3107093393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0930 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Just now Vice Premier Boris Grogoryevich Fedorov telephoned Mayak's studio. Here is what he said:

[Begin Fedorov recording] I would like to say a few words in connection with the statement made yesterday by Parliament Speaker Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, in which he quoted some foreign newspapers' claims that I had something to do with the bank notes exchange exercise carried out by the Central Bank. I would like to state, so that there is no misunderstanding whatsoever, that I had nothing to do with this. I have already made a special report both to the president and the premier.

We at the Ministry of Finances have also made a special statement on this matter. Therefore, Khasbulatov's statement made yesterday on television is, in my opinion, a slanderous lie, a distortion of the facts, and an attempt at political provocation, which in fact has been apparent from the very beginning.

Regrettably, certain individuals are trying to present what they have done against their people as the actions of reformers, as those responsible for the economic reform. I state once again—this is a lie. [end recording]

Fedorov Apologizes for Khasbulatov

LD3107132693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Statement by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov on 31 July, place not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpts] On the subject of accusations made against me yesterday, I would like to state the following: I only learned about the Central Bank exercise on changing bank notes from newspapers on 25 July and immediately reported this to the government, saying that this is unacceptable, that this is a betrayal of the people, and that this economically meaningless exercise undermines the authority of our state. Subsequent events have only confirmed this. I am open to any scrutiny. I have never put my signature to any decision involving a monetary reform or exchange of bank notes. I have always been fundamentally opposed to such actions.

The Central Bank alone is responsible for this action. The same people—Gerashchenko and Vailukov—engineered the January 1991 action, in which large denomination bank notes were exchanged. Further investigation will show who was to benefit and who profited from this. It is obvious that the speaker's statements are lies and provocation, and have definite political aims. It is perfectly obvious now who planned this action, who conducted it, and what its aims are. It was aimed at undermining the president's reputation, the Government, and the economic reforms, at a time when the first signs of stabilization and improvement have appeared.

The speaker in his agony is using unacceptable methods, including those directed against the state interests of Russia, in order to achieve his political goals. [passage omitted]

I would also like, on behalf of all Russians, to apologize to former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, whom our speaker insulted yesterday. I hope the people of Great Britain and generally throughout the world will not assume that all Russians are such boors. Thank you.

Fedorov Interviewed on Fiscal Policy

LD3107115293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 31 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet is opening at this very moment. The official reason for convening Parliament is the neccessity to approve the Russian president's decree on extending the state of emergency in the zone of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. However, the recent events which have found a wide response in society will also be discussed—the decision to cancel bank notes and the sacking of Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov.

Sharp criticism by the head of parliament with regard to the policy pursued by the president and the Government will be continued at the session. In particular, yesterday's television interview with speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov demonstrated this.

Most likely the question of the personal responsibility of the Finance Ministry and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov with regard to money exchange will be raised at the session. Ruslan Khasbulatov insisted on this yesterday.

We have Boris Fedorov in our studio, and we have a few questions for him. Ruslan Khasbulatov yesterday laid personal responsibility on you for the disintegration of the monetary system of the Commonwealth states. He said your policy is pushing the Commonwealth states out from the ruble zone.

[Fedorov] It is difficult to imagine more absurd accusations than these. I have already made a statement to the effect that I have nothing to do with the action. Ruslan Imranovich knows better than anyone else that the Central Bank is pursuing the monetary and credit policy in our country. During the last six months I have only been making attempts to somehow influence it in the interests in Russia. Therefore, I cannot accept these accusations. All that was said yesterday is a monstrous lie. I would put it this way, this is a political provocation. Now it is clear who has done this.

[Vinogradov] In your opinion, what are the specific aims of yesterday's interview?

[Fedorov] There are many aims. First of all, the aim is to discredit the president, the Government, and the policy of reforms. All this noise over the money exchange, against which I personally protested on Sunday when I learned about it from newspapers—therefore I could not participate in its preparation in any way, proves that this is yet another link in the chain of the decisions adopted by the Supreme Soviet and the speaker personally in order to discredit the policy of reforms. These decisions include a budget with an enormous deficit, which is unacceptable and anti-state, and which threatens to break down the whole country. They also include many other decisions. This is the aim, first and foremost, the political one.

[Vinogradov] Boris Grigoryevich, again, according to the parliament speaker in his television interview yesterday, the finance minister has pushed us toward this situation with the money exchange with very serious disorders. This is a real policy pursued by the minister, the policy of the International Monetary Fund pursued by Fedorov. These are serious accusations. What policy are you pursuing after all?

[Fedorov] The Finance Ministry is pursuing the policy adopted by the Government and the president. We have nothing to do with this exchange, since, from the economic viewpoint, it is senseless. From the viewpoint of a normal market economy it is senseless and absurd. The accusations, in particular those addressed to the International Monetary Fund, are also yet another provocation. The International Monetary Fund has made an official statement that it had not been notified of the action and is very sorry that it has caused so much damage. Therefore, they are trying to lay the blame at someone else's door. Mr. Khasbulatov should have raised the question of the responsibility of the Central Bank chairman and his deputies who are maintaining this policy. It became known to us today that a sum of many billions in the banknotes of 1993 has been sent to Uzbekistan against all the arguments made by the Central Bank. Why is Ruslan Imranovich not considering the question of the responsibility of the Central Bank? Instead he is trying to shift the blame onto the Government and on me, in particular. This is a fraud and a political provocation.

[Vinogradov] How serious are the claims made by the parliament speaker that Parliament had nothing to do with the exchange of old bank notes?

[Fedorov] Everyone knows that by law the Central Bank is subordinated to the Supreme Soviet, and it is completely obvious from the statements of the Central Bank managers that have been made that they agreed their actions with the leadership of the Supreme Soviet.

[Vinogradov] Thank you, Boris Grigoryevich.

Further on Fedorov News Conference

PM3007113993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Berger report: "Finance Minister Demands Chief Banker's Resignation"]

[Text] Finance Minister Boris Fedorov's speech at a news conference held two hours after his arrival in Moscow was most harsh in its choice of expressions and assessments.

The majority of news agencies have already carried Fedorov's statement that he is demanding the resignation of the Central Bank chairman, as well as his assessment of the exchange of bank notes announced by the Central Bank as undermining state interests, deception of CIS partners, and so forth.

The demand for the Central Bank chairman's resignation has been echoed by the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia and the Union of Cossack Hosts. Admittedly, they are also demanding that the Central Bank be placed under the jurisdiction of the government, something we have already had in our history before and which in the long term may threaten even greater upheavals than the absurdly organized exchange of bank notes.

Fedorov reaffirmed that the bank note exchange operation came as a complete surprise to him and that no one held any prior consultations with him on this subject.

Here is a curious detail: Viktor Gerashchenko's telegram on the Central Bank's decision to stop accepting bank notes issued between 1961 and 1992 (the editorial office does not have the full text) was dated 22 July, that is, Thursday of last week. This fact indicates that it was technically possible to coordinate its text with the top officials or show it to them in advance, even before the discussion of the question in the government late Friday evening. Was this actually done, and if so, who precisely was notified—there are no conclusive answers to those questions yet.

Boris Fedorov noted in passing that in addition to having political origins the Central Bank's economically pointless action could also have been criminally motivated.

What did the minister have in mind? Anders Aslund, director of the Stockholm Institute of Eastern European Economics, has suggested that the money exchange operation could be a colossal money-laundering exercise. The fact is that recently the Central Bank has sent vast sums of cash rubles to the countries of the former USSR. These torrents of cash were not regulated by any agreements or conditions and were not controlled in any way, and Coopers and Lybrand, the firm of auditors which has checked the Central Bank out, has produced findings which speak among other things of inadequate information on the movement of cash. All this, in Aslund's opinion, suggests that the people involved in the hasty exchange of money might have had an interest in sending money to the CIS countries.

It is difficult to say whether the "criminal version" will be corroborated. Frankly speaking, this reason for the organization of a "universal upheaval" seems improbable. However, it is patently obvious that, after the public demands for the resignation of the Central Bank chairman, it will be even harder for the Finance Ministry to find a common language with the Central Bank unless, of course, there are changes in its leadership. Fedorov will hardly be helped in his daily work by his statement that so long as he is minister the ministry will not implement the budget with the insane deficit as approved by parliament. This could easily encourage deputies to seek the implementation of the budget "on Fedorov's terms," that is, at the price of his resignation.

Uzbekistan Sent 'Large Amount' of Notes

LD3107152293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] In a message to Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin, Boris Fedorov, deputy head of the Russian Government, has accused the Central Bank of a provocation connected with the dispatch to Uzbekistan of a large amount of 1993 issue bank notes.

Bank Official Claims Interview 'Butchered'

PM3007122593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 1

[Valentina Nikiforova report: "Who 'Cut' Khandruyev?"]

[Text] A. Voylukov, first deputy chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, stated the following at a press conference:

"By 1200 hours 28 July, 442 billion rubles [R] had been taken out of circulation, including R24 billion from savings banks, and around R400 billion from commercial banks."

According to Central Bank managers, on average people are exchanging up to R8,000 per head under the initial quota of R35,000 (which has now been increased to R100,000). The deadline for exchange has been extended, indefinitely even.

"We have no complaints against newspapers," Deputy Chairman A. Khandruyev asserted. "There are complaints against the programs 'Vesti', 'Itogi,' and in part against Ostankino's 'Novosti.' On 31 July, I recorded a 10-minute television interview, and I made this request: We will pay the money, but you must show it in full. And what did they do? They butchered it, they showed the ear, the arms. The very same interview was recorded for 'Ostankino.' They released not my text but that of the commentator. So why bother with an interview? It turned out that the most far-reaching, most accessible media source failed to explain the thrust of the bank note exchange (this is not monetary reform!), but merely commented on the political situation and created panic. You tell me who would stay calm when 'Itogi' presenter Ye. Kiselev returned twice to the theme of money with panic in his voice?!

"And again, I want to say that the Central Bank will assume full responsibility," A. Khandruyev asserted. "I can say with satisfaction that 26 July 1993 marked the birthday of Russian hard currency..."

Such optimism ought to be believed, but do not be fooled. After all, the stated figure indicating that on average R8,000 is being exchanged at a time when a kilogram of sausage costs over R2,000 signals disaster.

Refugees Exempt From Withdrawal

LD3007161193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The largest number of refugees coming into Russia continues to be from Tajikistan. Of the 100,000 refugees registered by the Federal Immigration Service in January to March, almost half have arrived from that republic; 19,000 have arrived from Azerbaijan; 19,000 from Chechnya; 15,000 from Georgia. [passage omitted]

Therefore, on 27 July the Federal Immigration Service of the Russian Federation sent a document to the presidency requesting that an exception to the rules should be made for people who are on the territory of Russia, and have received the status of refugee, or of a person who has been forced to resettle; and that they should be given the opportunity to exchange money in unlimited amounts and for an unlimited period.

We have learnt today that as a result of this a draft presidential decree has been drawn up resolving this problem. Its contents have already been agreed with the Federal Immigration Service. The decree will probably be signed in the very near future.

Article Urges Gerashchenko's Dismissal

PM0208093793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 4

[Otto Latsis article: "The Incompetence of the Authorities Is the Most Lamentable Aspect of the Events Connected With the Money Exchange"]

[Text] Now that the dust has settled a little after the skirmishes over the money exchange it may be useful to try to find out what actually happened, how it happened, and what all this betokens.

"All the talk about [Central Bank Chairman] Gerashchenko's high level of professionalism is nothing but a myth," economist Leonid Lopatnikov said as he sat alongside me at the All-Russia Economic Conference during the Central Bank leader's speech. That speech confirmed that what my neighbor had said was right: Russia's "top banker" demonstrated a stunning failure to understand the consequences of his actions. Here are just a few details.

V. Gerashchenko announced that the Central Bank had already secretly contemplated after Monday July 26 doing what was envisaged by the president's edict, namely lifting the restriction on the exchange of 10,000-ruble [R] bank notes. That, in his opinion, would resolve the problem for northerners on vacation—the only category of citizens to whom the chairman of the Central Bank acknowledged some guilt. But, I would ask, why only them? Whereas five to ten years ago no one would have been surprised at the idea of a citizen going on vacation with, for example, five R100 notes in his pocket, he would need R200,000 to have the same purchasing power today. But for northerners, who have higher pay and longer leave, and furthermore often accumulate it over three years, it is quite possible to go on vacation with R1 million for their family.

And finally where is his basic knowledge of life? How can such a thing be conceivable—to make an announcement Saturday and revise it Monday. I am not talking about the nervous strain or the "pleasure" of a vacation spent worrying about such problems as how to save enough money at least to buy a return ticket. Yet it is a fact that on that Saturday at every intersection wheeler-dealers were snapping up old rubles on the cheap even for dollars—and if a desperate man engaged in such an operation that day, who would give him back his hard-earned cash come Monday?

V. Gerashchenko's reasoning made no mention at all of Russia's neediest inhabitants: the refugees and the enforced migrants from the former republics of the USSR. And this after the military aggravation in Tajikistan! People are fleeing from there not with just their pay but with money from the sale of all their property. And that sum is all in old rubles because, as V. Gerashchenko announced, the countries of the "ruble zone" have not received the new bank notes. On the Russian border these unfortunates can expect to have the little they have left confiscated. Let us suppose that sympathy must be an alien concept to the financier—even so, how can he fail to see that Russia will inevitably help the refugees and the enforced migrants with money from the state budget and preferential credits. So why expropriate them?

The banker is aware of the legal restrictions: "The Central Bank somewhat exceeded its powers by placing restrictions on the amount and timing of the exchange," he said guardedly. A cautious assessment. It would have been more accurate to say that the bank does not have the right to place any restrictions on the amounts of money. But the most disastrous thing was V. Gerashchenko's attempt to justify the fact the Central Bank leadership, aware of the illegality of this measure, nevertheless took it. He began to explain that the exchange with restrictions creates some inconveniences for the population, of course, but should not be a problem for economic organizations keeping proper accounts and not trying to hide their money from the taxman.

Was it not here that he revealed the main reason why these restrictions were necessary? Let us recall that no one doubts that the exchange is necessary—the whole question relates to the restrictions on the amount and the deadline, which turned a simple exchange into an act of confiscation, something which the bank, of course, has no right to do. Was this not done primarily to punish those people living not on their wages but on income from the market?

Well, let us talk about "economic organizations," as the banker put it. Let us take the most modest form of farm: the peasant holding—not even the private farm, which is the main source of income, but just a subsidiary plot or kolkhoz-sovkhoz allotment. These are not just peasant holdings now—millions of city dwellers have orchards and truck gardens. I suggest that those who know market prices consider a quantitative estimate of the problem facing the peasant who on the eve of the announced exchange was being encouraged to sell beef, pork, and new potatoes by the truckload in the market place. What bookkeeping entries can he produce to explain himself?

And what about the private farmer, who sells his entire output through the market? It is bad enough that he has go tens or hundreds of kilometers over dirt tracks to get to the bank. To what state have our esteemed bankers reduced the whole system of payments? And how is the small entrepreneur going to get fuel, a tractor, or spares? And now the state figure directly involved in the leadership of the system which has placed the urban and rural entrepreneur in intolerable conditions is punishing that entrepreneur for using his last resort—the possibility of surviving by using cash—in contravention of the rules. If it comes to that, it is in contravention of the rules to punish these violations by confiscation and to do this not via the court but via the bank.

I can see an ironic smile on the face of the perspicacious reader: Why is the naive author getting excited and what has incompetence got do with it? Our state banker knows perfectly well what he is doing: He has punished entrepreneurs not through ignorance but because of his anti-market convictions and his desire to put pressure on the private operator. To be honest, the author himself suspects this. But I do not agree that the suspicion that V. Gerashchenko was contemplating such a plan removes the criticism of incompetence. For a true professional banker the trust of the citizens—all citizens, even those who do not obey the laws!—must consciously take priority over all other assets. No monetary gain can justify the loss resulting from citizens' lack of confidence in the state bank. If a banker can commit that transgression, then, regardless of any other moral and political evaluations of his actions, he must be deemed professionally incompetent.

Unfortunately it is not just the leader of the bank who showed incompetence. The greatest regret and greatest fears are due to the fact that incompetence was also displayed by the head of government, who fully supported the Central Bank. He showed legal incompetence: He did not think that the confiscation decision was in breach of the law. He showed economic incompetence: He did not understand that even from the viewpoint of the narrow problem of the struggle against inflation the gain from confiscation of a certain sum of money pales beside the losses from the fact that, instead of creating incentives for saving, he was laying the foundations of a most powerful long-term disincentive. He showed managerial incompetence: He did not take into account the obvious fact that the head of government should not have given a public assessment of the Central Bank's actions without coordinating that assessment with the position of his chief specialist on these matters: the finance minister.

Nor can the actions of the Russian president be considered entirely competent in this situation. Although correctly aimed, they were too little, too late. IZVESTIYA has already written about the political losses due to the fact that the edict containing the amendments appeared in the evening and not the morning of the first working day after the Central Bank's decision. Let us add to this the fact that the raising of the ceiling on the amount to be exchanged is merely a half-measure. The restrictions must be removed entirely. There is nothing in the edict about the fate of citizens in countries of the ruble zone caught off guard by the exchange in Russia. Finally, the president has still said nothing about the responsibility of all those involved in the bungled exchange.

Perhaps my criticisms are futile? The president, who interrupted his vacation in Valday and hurried back, was preoccupied with more pressing worries that Monday—is that not so? The Supreme Soviet's provocative attack on privatization, the unceremonious treatment of state figures close to the president by the prosecutor's office, the security minister's bizarre behavior, the preparation of the economic conference, whose organizers were interested least of all in the economy—there were many factors to suggest that there was something, a smell of burning, in the air again, as two years ago. But it is precisely at such moments, when the people's support for reforms is the main guarantee of the protection of democracy, that the actions of the authorities in everything directly affecting the interests of every "ordinary" person must be especially precise.

The pandemonium caused by the discussion of the question of the currency reform at the Supreme Soviet Presidium session 28 July was a total nightmare. During the day the news agencies carried reports, explanations, denials, and more reports citing Presidium member V. Lisin, chamber Chairman V. Sokolov, a spokesman for the Supreme Soviet Press Service, and finally R. Khasbulatov himself, ending by evening with the TV reports that the agenda of the session held behind closed doors included just the question of the dismissal of Security Minister V. Barannikov. Whatever else, there is one thing I can remind the esteemed members of the presidium of with complete certainty: The Constitution of the Russian Federation, loyalty to which they are so fond of swearing inside the White House, recognizes no such organ of state power as the Supreme Soviet Presidium. According to the law, this organ is just a working structure to organize parliament's work, and thus the Supreme Soviet Presidium does not have the right to make decisions either on the currency reform or on the security minister.

...When the authorities are reactionary, you can at least guess what to expect from them and imagine how to save yourself. When the authorities are incompetent, citizens cannot guess what to expect from them and there is no escape from bungling. There is only one solution: You have to bring those authorities themselves back to their senses. For a start the most urgent thing to do is to replace the chairman of the Central Bank.

Bank Issues Revised Procedure

PM0208105693 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Clarification From Bank"]

[Text] The Central Bank of Russia Main Administration for Moscow, "in connection with numerous requests," has again issued official information on the procedure for the exchange of 1961-1992-issue bank notes for 1993-issue notes by individuals. What the Central Bank of the Russian Federation announcement says, word for word, is this:

1. Notes with a face value of 1, 3, 5, and 10 rubles [R] issued 1961-1992 are to remain legal tender until 1 September this year. Trading organizations are obliged to accept these bank notes. However, commercial banks are entitled to issue them to trading organizations only as change [dlya razmena]. It is prohibited to issue the said bank notes for wages or other payments.

2. Savings Bank institutions are to exchange 1961-1992-issue bank notes with a face value of 25, 50, 100, 200, 1,000, 5,000, and 10,000 rubles until 1 September. The total sum that may be exchanged by citizens of Russia and persons having a permit or registered as resident on Russia's territory is R100,000. Bank notes with a face value of R10,000 are not included in the total sum that may be exchanged. Furthermore, at the request of a citizen who has previously placed in a deposit account money subject to exchange in excess of the R35,000 limit, Savings Bank institutions may issue from his deposit account a sum not in excess of R65,000 at the time of application to the Savings Bank institutions. (For instance, if, on 26 July, a person resident in the capital exchanged R35,000 of old money and placed an additional R37,000, above his quota, on deposit for a six-month term, he is now entitled to receive from the Savings Bank institution where the exchange took place the sum of R37,000 in 1993 bank notes.)

3. Savings Bank institutions may, on presentation of a death certificate, exchange for citizens of Russia the total sum of bank notes subject to withdrawal, directly at the time of application.

4. The exchange of money by citizens of foreign states who are temporarily on Russian territory on business or for medical treatment is to take place at cash-accounting centers in the capital on the citizens' personal application, by permission of the chiefs of cash-accounting centers.

Agreement on Grain Prices Viewed

PM3007134193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Gavrilyuk: "Prices Increased, But Nothing With Which To Pay Them"]

[Text] After many months of talks between the peasants, in the shape of the Agrarian Union, and the government a definitive price for the grain of this year's harvest has been set. Today it is equal to 60 rubles [R] a kilogram of third-class wheat with subsequent monthly indexing.

Who has won in this exhausting struggle, who will get the rake-off?" No one. The point is that although present prices ensure producers the highest production profitability in recent years—about 300 percent—even if the Agrarian Union were to succeed in insisting on its price of R86-100 the Russian countryside would receive R4 trillion. But already its credit debts are R3 trillion and by the end of the harvest they will increase to at least R5 trillion. The peasants will not be paid in full however things turn out. As Vasiliy Starodubtsev, leader of the Russian Agrarian Union, noted, this decision "will not stop the collapse in the agro-industrial complex." And furthermore setting a price does not mean getting any money. The experience of last year teaches us that you can wait for months for payment.

It is the same for the government. Having agreed, under powerful pressure from the agrarian union members, to R60 a kilogram, the government, according to Deputy Finances Minister Andrey Vavilov, has financial resources only to pay peasants R50 a kilogram. And of the trillions of rubles needed for the purchase as of today only R180 billion have been released for procurement workers.

Meanwhile even according to this scenario there is a danger that a kilogram of mixed feed will cost about R200 and that means the final death of stockraising, including private stockraising. And we will have to pay at least R150 for a kilogram of bread.

That is why a hot fall lies ahead. Recently the coordination council for the collective actions of the working people in Russia's agro-industrial complex urged the peasants to "stand to the death" and hold a Peasant Protection Day 12 August. Pickets and meetings will be accompanied by demands addressed to the government, the main one being: "Buy from the collective and state farms and private farmers all output at prices proceeding from the calculation that the cost of one kilogram of grain is equal to the cost of one liter of petroleum products."

Chernomyrdin's Free Grain Storage Offer Viewed

PM3007143793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Valeriy Konovalov report: "Premier Has Encouraged the Peasants But Taken Aback the Grain Procurers"]

[Text] During his stay in Saratov Oblast, Viktor Chernomyrdin offered the peasants free storage of the new grain crop at grain elevators.

This statement has alarmed the "Roskhleboprodukt" Corporation, which purchases grain for the state. The corporation leadership called an urgent conference in the morning to discuss the prime minister's initiative and to draw up appropriate proposals. It should be noted that this idea is not so new; it has frequently surfaced in past years. The suddenness of this statement is another matter, however. Clearly, Chernomyrdin's acquaintance with the progress of grain procurement in Saratov Oblast, where there is a bumper harvest, made him think it would be a good idea to announce then and there that grain would be stored at the state's expense.

The point is, that, given the difficult situation with purchase prices, private and collective farms alike are trying to hold on to grain but, as a rule, there is nowhere to store it. This could mean large losses. On the other hand, storing grain at the reception centers does not come cheap now—up to 5,000-6,000 rubles [R] per tonne. Clearly, the problems are resolved if the state bears the costs without at the same time dictating to the peasants what they should do with the crop they have raised. Whether or not the state can afford to do this is another matter. Estimates of the cost ranged from R160-170 billion at the "Roskhleboprodukt" conference. Proposals were submitted to the government. It is up to the government to decide.

Military Issues

Defense Ministry To Produce Mi-28 Helicopter

LD3007123593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0341 GMT 30 Jul 93

[From the "Slavyanka Studio" of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] The Russian Federation's Defense Ministry has decided to start serial production of the Mi-28 combat helicopter. This tank-destroying helicopter will be used by land forces. It is expected that, following final alterations, the first serial-produced Mi-28 will take off at the beginning of 1995.

In many ways it will be superior to its American counterpart, the Apache. One can only regret that after taking only two years to create the most powerful combat helicopter in the world, the staff of the Mil design office had to wait almost 10 years for the decision that the Armed Forces would use this helicopter.

Grachev Cancels Promotion of Controversial Officer

LD3107050693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev today cancelled his own order to award the rank of major of justice to Dmitriy Yakubovskiy, who has become known in the press of late. Under the new order of the defense minister, Yakubovskiy has been returned to his previous military rank: lieutenant of justice in the reserve.

General Says Country To Have Rapid Deployment Forces

MK3107114093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 1

[Interview with Yevgeniy Podkolzin, Airborne Troops commander, by Dmitriy Kholodov; place and date not given: "Hip Newspaper Congratulates Hip Troops. Airborne Troops Commander Yevgeniy Podkolzin: 'No Other Army in the World Has Such Weaponry'"]

[Excerpts] [Kholodov] It is widely rumored that Russia is going to have a new type of military unit—rapid deployment forces. What will they be like?

[Podkolzin] This is the president's idea. The mobile forces will consist of two components, or branches, of the Armed Forces—the Immediate Reaction Forces, and the Rapid Deployment Forces. The former will be based on airborne troops, and will be directly subordinate to the defense minister. In addition to containing Airborne Troops they will will be made up of units for military transport, aviation, antiaircraft defense, marines, and support. "Immediate" implies that these troops will be on constant alert and will execute their missions immediately upon receiving orders—they are to land in designated areas in less than 24 hours. As for the Rapid Deployment Forces, they will be made up of soldiers taken from Airborne Troops, ground units, the Air Force, and from naval shore-based units. They will not be full strength, and bringing them up to full strength and getting them ready will take up to 72 hours. We are going to start the organizational development of the mobile forces as soon as we withdraw the Airborne Troops from neighboring countries. What we now have is essentially a redeployment of a whole component force. Seven combined units and 10 separate units have been moved into Russia. They are the most battle-worthy units. We are supposed to complete redeployment by the end of August. The mobile forces are to be created before 1995. [passage omitted]

[Kholodov] Delegations from the West have been visiting you frequently of late. Are they learning from our experience?

[Podkolzin] We receive many visitors from among those who used to be our adversaries. The principle "land-based troops" countries—the United States, Britain, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany. They are visiting, of course, not so much to look around and saying thanks, as to learn. The French and Germans speak of "a second historical circle of learning." The first one was the experience of an airborne landing carried out by the Red Army in the 1930's. We, for example, set up a training center for the French in Pau. They are excited about and amazed at our Airborne Troops—how did we manage to create such a mighty force at all?, they wonder. In fact our aircraft are some of the best. The maximum weight the French can drop from the air is five to eight tonnes. We drop loads of up to 18 tonnes. We have the capability to land, all at once, a whole division complete with support and hardware; everyone from a conscript to the division commander, from a cartridge to an airborne fighting vehicle. Our paratroopers "fight" in tanks. Incidentally, our remarkable airborne fighting vehicle is the basis for self-propelled artillery pieces and missile systems. We have developed a system for landing troops inside fighting vehicles. No other army in the world has such weaponry, not even any test versions. [passage omitted]

[Kholodov] Who is tougher, do you think, we or they?

[Podkolzin] Visiting with us in Tula recently was the U.S. secretary of defense. His son is in the airborne forces. We proposed that his son come over here for a tour of duty. The American declined the offer saying the standards were too tough.

Supreme Soviet

Extraordinary Parliament Session Opens 31 Jul

LD3107110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1016 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul—An extraordinary session of the Russian Supreme Soviet opened today at 1400. Initially, only one question is on the agenda—ratification of the Russian president's decree "On the Introduction of the State of Emergency on the Territories of Mozdokskiy Rayon, Prigorodnyy Rayon, the Neighboring Regions of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as Malgobekskiy and Nazranovskiy Rayons of the Ingush Republic."

To Continue Work 'Next Week'

LD3107120693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1115 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul—An extraordinary session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, which began its work in Moscow today, will not last only one day as previously planned. During discussion of the agenda, the majority of deputies voted for continuing the work next week. A number of speakers pointed out that the work of the session cannot be restricted to confirming the president's decree on extending the state of emergency in the Ossetia-Ingushetia conflict zone. Events of the last few days, which have aggravated the social situation, should also be discussed.

Discusses Law Amendments

LD3107125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1134 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Oleg Velichko and Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 31 July—During discussion of the agenda, deputies decided not to restrict themselves to the examination of the main point. They accepted deputy Sergey Polozkov's suggestion that the question of introducing amendments to the Russian law on the Council of Ministers should be discussed. Parliamentarians agreed that this law should contain specific deadlines for the Russian president to nominate candidates for the key ministers' posts once relevant vacancies arise. We would like to remind you that in accordance with constitutional norms, the four ministers—the ministers of defense, internal affairs, foreign affairs, and security—are appointed with parliament's agreement.

At the proposal of Deputy Petr Filippov, the parliamentarians decided to hear during the session a report by Russian Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko on financial issues, in particular the decision on bank note exchange. A proposal by Ruslan Khasbulatov to hear a report by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov on the same range of issues was also approved.

In addition parliament will also discuss the interpretation of a number of articles of the Russian Constitution concerning procedure for appointing and relieving key ministers of their posts. This proposal was made by Deputy Petr Zerin, who stressed that "the events of last week show that the sacking of 'power' ministers is taking place without the approval of the Supreme Soviet."

Shakhray Addresses Session

LD3107142093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1320 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray spoke today at the Russian Supreme Soviet extraordinary session on the reasons for the Russian presidential decree on extending the state of emergency in the Ossetia-Ingushetia conflict zone. "The only thing which it has been possible to achieve so far is to control the situation with the help of the forces of the provisional administration and not permit mass violence," the vice premier noted. "However, the hostage problem has still not been resolved, people are dying, and the region is saturated with weaponry."

In his opinion the most important problem preventing the settlement of the conflict through political means is the refugee problem and the people who have been forced to move. According to the Federal Migration service, there are more than 40,000 refugees from the interior of Georgia, S. Ossetia, the territory of former Chechnya-Ingushetia, and several other areas on the territory of N. Ossetia.

As things stand today, the vice premier continued, the agreement between Ossetia and Ingushetia, which was signed in Kislovodsk on 20 March 1993, is the main and only legal document on the basis of which the problem of refugees and forced migrants can be resolved. Unfortunately, this agreement is not being fulfilled. "And if the president of the Ingush Republic has stressed frequently his readiness to implement this document, the leadership of North Ossetia, its Supreme Soviet, have a different approach and it is not yet possible to begin the real return of refugees," the rapporteur noted. "The mixed commission has not yet essentially agreed a single populated area for the return of the refugees," he said. "The question of the impossibility of Ossetians and Ingush living together is being raised constantly, and such a formulation of the question is confirmed in the 6 March 1993 resolution of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet."

Sergey Shakhray recalled the recent meeting between the Ossetian and Ingush leadership and the president and chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers. The president and the premier made a direct appeal to the Ossetian and Ingush peoples at the meeting. At the same time, the vice premier emphasized in his answers to questions from deputies after his speech, "all measures the Russian leadership may take to settle the conflict without the political agreement of Ossetia and Ingushetia will be of a temporary, successive nature".

Yeltsin Decree Confirmed

LD3107141493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1340 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul—The Russian Supreme Soviet today confirmed the decree of the Russian Federation president "On Introducing a State of Emergency on the Territory of the Mozdokskiy [Mozdok] and Prigorodnyy [Oktyabrskoye] Rayons, and the Contiguous Localities of the North Ossetian SSR and the Malgobekskiy [Malgobek] and Nazranskiy [Nazran] Rayons of the Ingush Republic" dated 27 July 1993 with the amendations laid down in the decree of the Russian Federation president dated 30 July 1993.

As a provision for the state of emergency regime, the presidential decree charges the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Russian Federation to support a 5,000-strong grouping of internal forces in the conflict zone. After confirming the decree, deputies adopted a decision proposing that the Russian Federation president agree its provisions with the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian SSR, and the leadership of the Ingush Republic.

The Supreme Soviet has also adopted an address to the peoples of North Ossetia and Ingushetia that calls on the leadership of the two republics and state power and administration bodies "to do everything possible for the unconditional implementation of the undertaken obligations in order to reach interethnic peace and civil accord, and to restore good-neighborly relations between the peoples of North Ossetia and Ingushetia."

Collective Security Accord Ratified

LD3107141393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1348 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Moscow 31 Jul (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Parliament today ratified the Treaty on Collective Security signed on 15 May 1992 in Tashkent by six states—Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. Presenting this document, Russian Deputy Foreign minister Grigoriy Berdennikov stressed that the treaty is designed to unite the efforts of its signatories in preserving peace and ensuring collective security. He particularly noted the timing of ratifying this treaty "now when alarming events are taking place on the border between Tajikistan, a signatory to this treaty, and Afghanistan."

The deputy minister expressed confidence that "the treaty will have a restraining influence on some Russian neighbors in the south and other countries who are trying to expand their influence in Central Asia."

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties, who made a co- report, drew special attention to the part of the treaty which says that "the member-states will not enter military unions or participate in any military groups in the states directed against another member state." The document is intended to become one of the "levers in the restoration of the integration processes".

'Corrections' to Law on Forming Government

LD3107153393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1416 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul—The situation that has arisen as a result of Viktor Barannikov's being relieved of his duties as Russian Federation security minister has prompted the Russian Supreme Soviet to render certain provisions of the law on the procedure for forming the Russian Government more precise. Corrections to the law that had been proposed by the "Smena" faction were adopted at the first reading today.

Trying to explain the reasons for preparing this draft law, Deputy Sergey Polozkov said that according to the Constitution the appointments of the defense, internal affairs, foreign affairs, and security ministers "are made by the Russian Federation president with the accord of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet." But the mechanism of the realization of this position has not been elaborated as yet. It was proposed to clarify that "in case of the cessation of term of the office of one of the ministers mentioned above, or if the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet does not agree with a candidate to the post of minister presented by the Russian Federation president, the Russian Federation president must present another candidate to the appropriate post to the Supreme Soviet within seven days." The presentation once again of a candidate who has already been rejected is not allowed."

The second reading of the draft law will be next week, most likely at the next joint sitting of the chambers which is to be on 6 August.

CIS Armed Forces Chief Post 'Liquidated'

LD3107165293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1552 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov]

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—The chief command of the CIS Allied Armed Forces continues to function despite the fact that the post of the commander-in-chief of the Allied Armed Forces "has been sort of liquidated", Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov, secretary of the Council of Defence Ministers of the CIS member states, explained today at the extraordinary session of the Russian Parliament. He took part in the discussion of the ratification of the Collective Security Treaty.

"At all the recent sessions of the heads of state I do not remember any of them questioning the necessity of the CIS allied military structure," he said. According to Ivashov, the latest session of the Council of Heads of State, held on May 14, 1993, gave instructions to the CIS Council of Defence Ministers aimed at improving the functioning of that structure.

Khasbulatov Interviewed on Key Issues

LD3007211993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1755 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by Aleksey Abakumov in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Abakumov] Good evening. Today Russian television has a live interview with the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. It would be more accurate to say one of its interviews, because these interviews have already become something of a tradition, and traditionally they have taken place before or after congresses of people's deputies and before or after parliamentary sessions. In this case, the meeting is being held both before and after a session, since only recently the deputies were leaving for their homes, and tomorrow they will assemble again in Moscow. In view of this, I propose that we should work, let us say, with double intensity.

So straight to our first question. In your closing speech at the session of the Russian parliament, you said that the parliamentary recess might turn out on this occasion to be a short one. You turned out to be absolutely right; the recess was short indeed. What was that, a presentiment or a plan? And why was it necessary to assemble the people's deputies now in particular?

[Khasbulatov] Well, you are right; unfortunately my prophecies do sometimes come true. You remember that when we were ending the congress in December I said that the political situation in Russia was so complex that we might have to assemble much sooner than planned, and it was then, you remember, that the attempt was made at a state coup.

Now the question is much more vital, vital and exceptionally important, exceptionally serious. It is linked to the need to prolong the state of emergency in the region of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. You know that the situation there is very complex and strained. There are tens of thousands of refugees from both sides.

Up to now our government, to be frank, has not displayed the proper concern. This conditional equilibrium has been maintained with great difficulty by visiting deputies on shuttle trips. A very large number of appeals on the part of the Supreme Soviet and a number of actions by the legislative body have not found any serious support.

Let us say frankly that our state committee for nationalities affairs, headed by Sergey Mikhailovich Shakhray, on which we were pinning great hopes, has been and remains inactive. True, recently, I personally have been placing great hopes on the new leader, Polyanichko, appointed by the president. Apparently there has already been a meeting today between both leaders, both presidents. I would like to hope that this whole conflict will finally be settled, at least on a preliminary basis, so as to induce both sides to come peacefully to an agreement.

So I take this opportunity to call upon the peoples and on the leaders to have mercy, to think a little of their peoples, and to renounce these ambitions. Winter is coming; children must go to school; services and utilities must be provided. We have already allocated and are allocating more money, a lot of money.

In particular, since the South Ossetian conflict started, the Supreme Soviet has earmarked considerable sums of money for North Ossetia. We discussed the North Ossetian issue at congresses, and it was discussed nearly eight times at the Supreme Soviet sessions.

Now a very complicated situation has taken shape in Ingushetia. I therefore appeal to the leaders involved to show peaceful aspirations and not to try playing the ethnic card in their own selfish interests instead of in the interests of their people. But in actual fact, attempts are being made in those regions to use this ethnic card to boost personal prestige. I am saying this openly because I deal with these issues all the time. We will provide the necessary aid, even in this difficult time.

Anyway, the president has suggested that we extend the state of emergency in the region. The problem is that, though the presidium could adopt a decision on extending it now that the parliament is not in session, there are several new points to be introduced. Since the Supreme Soviet does not allow itself any deviations from meticulously observing the law and the Constitution, it is necessary to convene a session of the Supreme Soviet to settle this issue. This is the main reason for convening this session.

[Abakumov] At the beginning of your answer you mentioned December and said that an attempt at a coup d'etat took place then. Meanwhile, I recall August 1991, when there really was a coup d'etat. Yeltsin, Rutskoy, and Khasbulatov were together at the time. Only two years have passed, but many things have happened, many things of very different kinds. From your point of view, what are the principal mistakes made in these two years—the two years of Russia's independence—and the principal achievements?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, we were together, and I expect us to remain together in the future, especially now when it has become clear that these methods and means were wrong. It is not simply the implementation of economic reforms that went wrong. Let us not simplify the matter. This is a question of the incompetent administration of the country in general. Have a look around. As a whole, the main issues for all people and society at present are economic issues, issues of concrete life, of social position, of culture, science, and education. Instead, they are trying to impose a constitution on us and to lead public opinion away along some absolutely artificial route—for all the imperfections of our constitutional structure—and to replace the main issues in people's lives with some issues that are not of primary importance. They are not even of secondary importance. They are insignificant and minor. First they make one attempt to resolve a problem by force and then they make another. So, if we are to talk about who is together, I want to say that I am the same as I was in August 1991 and even earlier, when I prevented what is called an internal coup in the Supreme Soviet, the overthrow of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

What can I actually say? Recently we had the all-Union, or rather, the all-Russian economic conference, and of course, a lot was said there about economic matters. Look, we have what are, after all, elementary figures. A decline in output last year of 49 percent, plus 19 percent in the first half of this year. We did not have such a decline even during the Great Fatherland War.

In agriculture we had a decline of 52 percent. As for crime, murders alone amounted to 180,000 in the year; that is literally a war against our people. Those are specific indicators. What is the most important thing for society against the background of those three or four indicators? Some fruitless debates and attempts to distract public opinion from the main issues, or efforts to resolve these problems together? We are proposing the latter.

For that reason we spent almost six months working with the government to draw up some general principles for the implementation of economic reform, and finally we did draw up a declaration of economic accord with the government and public forces. The intention of the all-Russian economic conference was to develop those ideas, but what do you think happened? On the last day—and we had worked with the government, we had worked very well and held a whole series of regional conferences....[pauses] At the last moment, the government received an instruction not to participate. First, that was an illegal instruction. Even if it were legal, the government had no right not to participate, because according to the Constitution, the government is responsible before the Supreme Soviet. The question is: Who gave the order? It turns out that the Democratic Russia movement gave the order to the president.

So, Democratic Russia, that party of war—I cannot describe it in any other way—is running our country. Can the parliament reconcile itself with this? You ask me what has prevented people from staying together. This is what has prevented it. I think it is simply disgraceful and intolerable behavior. Do people like that have the right to run the country? Now we have to think about the country and not our own ambitions. It is time to put a stop to this.

[Abakumov] You have said Democratic Russia has ordered the president and has ordered the government. Is the word correct here? Perhaps there was a recommendation and not an order....

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] No, I think they did order because that is their style. They were the only political force that refused to sign an economic declaration approved—I have already mentioned this—by the

Supreme Soviet, the government, the trade unions, by practically all sociopolitical forces. This was the only political force that did not.

This is a narrow circle of people who for some reason call themselves democrats. You know, during the French Revolution there was also a party, they were called madmen and intransigent, etc. Of course, this group has regenerated and nothing democratic is left there.

What they are imposing on us is not merely Americanization, but Latin-Americanization, with a dictatorial regime. This is already evident today. Therefore, I am stressing this issue because it is their representatives who are in the government. There are extremists on the other side, but the extremists on the other side are not in the government. It is their representatives who are in the government. By that I mean the very same Fedorov, who, by the way, has pushed us into this situation with these exchanges of money and the serious disorder, although he denies having anything to do with it. What he says is utterly untrue. It is his real policy, the policy of the IMF, that Fedorov is pursuing. That is what has led to this. Although, of course, the Central Bank is now having to take the rap for it all, as they are also culpable here.

These forces, of course, I repeat, have nothing to do with democracy. They are trying to impose on us this semiterrorist regime. This is very dangerous for society. They have truly pushed our society into the gulf of suffering, in the literal sense. This must be stopped.

How can this be stopped? Not by war, of course. So then let us really achieve some agreement, some common measures. That is why we convened the all- Russian economic conference. Moreover, I repeat, we worked together with the government, general directors, representatives of the public, regional authorities, administrators, specialists, and scholars. Together we worked out some specific measures aimed at stabilizing the situation. In these conditions, in these difficult conditions, not participating in this economic conference, how do you view that? It is direct sabotage.

[Abakumov] OK, Ruslan Imranovich, from your point of view, in these conditions what economic steps, steps in the economic sphere, are necessary first of all? What needs to be done now to somehow improve the situation?

[Khasbulatov] You see, probably everyone who appears on screen can be asked what is needed now, and probably within five minutes it is necessary to list some measures. It is better, however, to look at the specific decisions which are recommended by the roundtable, the economic conference, which said completely clearly and precisely—and by the way I support such an approach—that the market needs to be created in deed and not in words.

What does this mean, in deed? Enterprise definitely needs to be supported, right? The selling off of state companies definitely needs to be supported, right? But what does that self-same finance Minister Fedorov do? He simply does not give out credits. Incidentally, the finance has been sanctioned by the Supreme Soviet. He does not give credits to agriculture. Industry is at a standstill here. Agriculture naturally cannot work. The service sector is at a standstill. Small enterprise is not working. Private enterpreneurs are groaning at the taxes forced on them by the great marketeer, Fedorov, and before him Gaydar. Some 85 or 90 percent of every ruble, or 85-90 kopecks, goes in taxes.

We demand....[pauses] Imagine that I am, they say, an antimarketeer. Excuse me, but many newspaper editors were punished for publishing my article when I wanted us to have genuine market relations here in 1980.

I have proposed—and the Supreme Soviet has backed this idea—that we should cut taxes on producers by 50 percent. But, on the contrary, what the government does in its budget is to impose new taxes. What sort of market can there be in these conditions, I ask you, if there are no incentives for development, if we rake in all the money? That is why producers are embarking on the course of nonpayment of taxes, because they are having to hide their money. As a result, we are having to increase the bureaucracy, to set up a tax police, to conduct investigations, and so on. Economic crimes are growing, while the tax base is shrinking and production is falling.

As a consequence, we are reaching the introduction of elements of war communism. The policy line that has now been publicized recently—including the limit of 35,000 rubles on what each person may exchange—amounts to requisition. It is a confiscatory approach to the exchange of money. It is an element of war communism. These are just the first shoots. They are the results of that very same policy of the radicals, which they are pursuing under the guise of the market. In other words, we are moving over to elements of war communism instead of to the market. I oppose these measures; I am for economic freedom.

I am of course for private farming, of course for private property. Incidentally, I was the first politician in Russia to say this at a congress. When I was being elected in 1990, you know, I can remember people saying: How could you dare say that? When I was being asked questions, I said of course we need to bring in private property. How can they wreck—literally—the country like this and call it economic reform?

Let us look at this. Since the Finance Ministry is denying that it is one of the participants in—indeed the author of—this measure, I have brought along this translation of an article. This is a newspaper for the business community, called THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. In this article—it is called "The Sequence of Events That Led to the Cancellation of the Ruble Exchange—the Real Role of the IMF and Mr. Fedorov." It starts off with these words: Mr. Fedorov and the IMF are refusing to accept responsibility for the policy that led to the botched exchange of old rubles for new ones. The actual sequence of events, as shown in reports from all our press, shows that they are lying—that is the word in the newspaper—and also shows that the policy imposed by the IMF and Mr. Fedorov is bound to lead to disaster.

The essence of the problem is that the republics of the former USSR are being forced into bringing in their own monetary systems and centrifugal trends are being encouraged, not only in these republics but also in Russia. The rules of the game were imposed on the Central Bank.

Furthermore, and this time I am quoting the FINANCIAL TIMES, which says that it is expected that already next year the majority of the countries that used to belong to the CIS will switch over to their own currency. This is a result of the standpoint of the IMF, which links aid grants to getting inflation under control. We imagine that we develop our economic and financial policies here, but in reality they are being shaped—as has been shown—by the IMF, and they are being consistently put into effect by Finance Minister Fedorov.

You can read all about it here. The article is five pages, too long for me to read all of it here. But the interesting point here is that, according to (Harry Trines), an IMF representative, it has become quite obvious that in the present situation no one would be able to reduce inflation while remaining tied to the ruble. So the board of managers of the IMF decided that all the CIS countries must introduce their own currency. If a country wants to get some aid from the IMF, it should entrust itself to the IMF and its program, which contains the well-known point about financial stability, restrictions on the budget, and rapid privatization.

I have been studying these IMF measures for a quarter of a century. Wherever they have been applied, they have brought nothing to people except suffering. Now this IMF scheme is being introduced here. When you ask me why I do not agree, I do not agree with these measures because not only were they unsuccessful in eastern Europe, they were unsuccessful in Israel, where the deputy finance minister who tried to implement them was sacked. They were unsuccessful in Argentina, Brazil, and even in Chile. These measures were not successful anywhere. So why do we now have to experiment with them, relying on Fedorov, who introduced all these measures while also trying to drive all the other republics out of the ruble zone? Fedorov—who is now trying to blame everything on the Central Bank, after the Central Bank has tried somehow, albeit very clumsily, to put things in order in these circumstances. By the way, the Central Bank is, after all, operating along the lines of government policy. Whether you like the fact or not, the bank is unable to pursue any economic or financial policy of its own: It has to follow in the wake of the government's economic policy. That is the point.

There is something else of interest here. In effect, the measures taken in Russia by the Central Bank were the only ones possible in the circumstances, which were that the basic decision to destroy the ruble zone had already been made, and certainly not by the Central Bank. This coincides with Fedorov's policy of introducing various currencies, including the [Kyrgyz] som, which was brought in as an example to the others. Thus, the newspaper concludes, responsibility for the fiasco lies not with the Central Bank but directly with Fedorov and President Yeltsin, who supported the IMF's policy.

In general, I want to say that, unfortunately, our senior officials have very often grown accustomed to not telling the truth, and so in recent days it has been the foreign press, which in this article, entitled "The Sequence of Events That Led to the Cancellation of the Ruble Exchange: The Real Role of the IMF and Mr. Fedorov," has shown how these events developed and demonstrated how the minister of finance has, of course, again lied to society.

[Abakumov] Ruslan Imranovich, forgive me, but how correct is it for a Russian politician—in this case you, a man who undoubtedly has a very good knowledge of economics—to cite THE WALL STREET JOURNAL when analyzing events inside Russia? It is no doubt a respected newspaper, but nevertheless one which often makes mistakes in both its forecasts and analyses of the situation inside this country. How correct is this when one bears in mind that, as we well know, we do unfortunately get leaks—sometimes deliberate—of information, which is used by the Western press?

[Khasbulatov] Right. Unfortunately, your question definitely requires a serious answer, and not simply an attempt to evade it, for you are perfectly correct. The thing is that this is a case where the analysis by these fairly reliable financial and economic newspapers coincides fully with my understanding and view of this problem.

I want to repeat that in my speech on 26 July I expressed the same ideas, a long time before coming across the articles, because at that time the articles did not yet exist; they were written after. Likewise, those articles did not exist when I spoke at the economic conference. I said then that I see several reasons here.

The first is a general political reason. What is this general political reason? The thing is that, unfortunately, the members of our government, and apparently the president as well, have begun to be weighed down by their CIS obligations. The thing is that the Russian leadership has itself recently been acting as a member of the CIS while believing that it is not itself obliged to implement agreements.

For example, you know that in spite of the treaties, there has been a very serious attempt to eliminate the joint command of the nuclear forces. In particular, Marshal Shaposhnikov was effectively compelled to leave that post. That not only contradicts CIS agreements, incidentally, but also the Lisbon agreements relating to the same point. After all, the CIS nuclear forces were meant to be concentrated in the sole hands of a collective authority, a single command. Now that Russia has rejected that, you see, Ukraine has declared itself, or is ready to declare itself, a nuclear power. What are we driving other countries toward? The spreading of nuclear weapons?

That is one fact. A second is that we, or rather our government, are unfortunately concluding agreements within the CIS framework without any intention of implementing them. At the same time, you know, they are ready to sacrifice the fatherland and impoverish 99 percent of the population in their attempts to implement any agreements concluded with Western countries. There is a sort of double standard here which I fail to understand. Either it is a sense of inadequacy, some sort of inferiority before the West... [pauses]

At the same time, there is an untrustworthiness when it comes to implementing agreements. I find that especially unpleasant because I am chairman of the Interparliamentary Assembly, and almost every day I have to speak with my colleagues, and that includes speaking about these matters. You know, in corroboration of that, I have had talks with the leaders of practically all the CIS countries, who say: Listen, do you want to push us out of the ruble zone? Why are you doing this? Why isn't the Russian parliament supervising its own Finance Ministry?

I say: What do you mean, not supervising it? We even asked the procurator general, the Security Ministry, and the Interior Ministry to open criminal proceedings against the finance minister, who is failing to carry out parliament's decisions on credits. So unfortunately, reality confirms what I was reading out earlier.

Why did I cite these printed reports? Because, unfortunately, when you have to draw on quotes or written sources, it is especially fashionable to cite foreign sources. If you like, it is a kind of fad. But I knew all this and know it, without having to refer to those quotes.

[Abakumov] It is unfortunately true that references to foreign media are becoming increasingly frequent. But let us return to another issue that we have touched on momentarily in our conversation. You said that the consolidation of various political forces and leaders of various movements is now a possibility and that you are ready for this consolidation. On what basis, do you think, could such a consolidation take place so that no one political grouping feels that it has lost out? If it is possible.

[Khasbulatov] It is possible. My fairly harsh comments notwithstanding, I can not only affirm that it is possible but I also want to point out to our viewers that we are doing something to make it possible. The media, including the television, are keeping quiet on some very major successes. I have already mentioned the declaration on economic accord and public forces.

You know, the idea of a roundtable was born during the seventh congress in December last year. Let us once and for all stop all this quarreling and find out who the antireformists among us are, who among us is against economic reform, and who is dragging us backwards. It turned out that when everyone sat down at the negotiations table, the talks continued for nearly six months. We signed an agreement with the government in January on the institution of this roundtable. For over five months very complex negotiations continued. A very serious document was drawn up, a declaration on economic accord.

Therefore I repeat: All deputy prime ministers signed it. At the concluding stage we were there together with Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin and there were also advisers to the president, individual well-known scientists and specialists, sociopolitical parties, etc. What was discussed there? Private ownership, yes, including on land; private farms, yes; free enterprise, yes; support of local entrepreneurship, yes. On the whole, many positions—on which parliament was accused of being reactionary and given other names—were covered rather in detail there. Those who will read the declaration will see and feel that there were no arguments there.

Listen, an agreement has been reached on the main issues of implementing the economic reform. Listen further: Isn't it the task of politicians to expand and develop this corridor of accord which has begun to take shape? This is what we had planned. Since the government had not given us the program for stabilizing the economy, we had decided to help, without trying to overemphasize our role. Let's hold an all-Russian economic conference, practically the first one. Moreover, we will invite business circles, bankers, political parties, general directors, specialists, and scientists, 2,000 people from all over the country.

Indeed, intense discussions continued for two days in different sections and some joint documents were drawn up. Moreover, by the decision of the forum, it was given the status of a permanent body. Evidently, the second session of the all-Russian economic forum will be held in September. Its goal is to fill this very declaration of national accord with more material contents and with more concrete things.

This is in reply to your question whether accord is possible. Of course it is possible. But the desire is needed for this. Do we want to implement economic reforms in coordination and by peaceful ways? The absolute majority of the population, even in these difficult conditions, do not want a return to old party methods. They do not want them to return. Society wants not only democracy; it also wants a dynamic development of the economy. Society wants to return to and revive many cultural values which have unfortunately been lost already.

Society wants to combat crime successfully. Isn't that correct? The life of every individual is in danger at present. We decided to resolve these exciting problems in coordination somehow. Why should there be a separation then? I cannot understand this.

So I am taking realistic measures and believe this to be not only possible but essential. But those forces who do not want to take this route should be removed from power. It is these forces that are the party of war. We are heading in a different direction from the party of war. This is where the danger arises.

[Abakumov] You just said party of war. Unfortunately, these words—party of war, civil war—are heard with increasing frequency in parliamentary speeches. Do you not think that in this way our people, unwittingly perhaps, are being prepared for a possible course of events that might have tragic consequences for Russia?

[Khasbulatov] You know, I remember how in August 1991, after the rebellion was quashed, many of our deputies told me as chairman that we have to prepare ourselves, that we had been caught unprepared. At the time I answered that we should never have had to be ready for such events. Why should we be? Excuse me, but I am no less responsible than the president for the state of the country. I am the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. That kind of action concerns me.

For example, the fighting on 1 May. It turns out that the interior minister was implicated. He accepted responsibility. We set up a large parliamentary commission which concluded that indeed he was implicated and was seriously liable. Under the Constitution, these four posts—minister of the interior, security, foreign affairs, and defense—are, as we say, within the remit of the Supreme Soviet. When appointing and dismissing them, the president is obliged to take parliament's opinion into account.

So if the president does not do this, it is of concern to me. It makes we worry. Why is the president trying to bypass the Constitution? That is the first point. Second, the security minister was dismissed recently. This is of concern to me, as it is to other people. Why did this happen, bypassing parliament? Why is the president trying to step beyond the bounds of the Constitution?

[Abakumov] Is this going to be discussed at the session?

[Khasbulatov] Absolutely. How else? So, when you ask me why such words are heard in parliament, look at the situation. Why are these words heard? Why does our constitutional power—sometimes the government, sometimes the president—try to overstep the boundaries of the Constitution on many occasions? Why doesn't this worry our TV journalists? Why is that?

Or, for example, something that happened a few days ago. I think it is nothing but an insult to the country and its people. Moreover, how can a journalist with any amount of self-respect bear this? I refer to the incident when Mrs. Thatcher said in her television address: To resolve your crisis—I do not remember the journalist she spoke with because I watch television rarely, but this time I happened to be free, so I switched it on and saw them talking—so she said: First you must adopt a new constitution and then you must disband the parliament.

Why didn't your colleague the TV journalist ask Mrs. Thatcher: Why shouldn't Great Britain adopt a constitution? Or he could ask another question: Who elected the House of Lords? Or yet another interesting question: How long will the British Armed Forces wreak violence among the Irish people, who, incidentally, have enjoyed a statehood of their own for over 1,100 years and lost it as result of annexation? Britain is still dealing out justice there without relevant legal procedures, and so on.

All these are interesting questions to ask. But your colleague, with—excuse me—a most stupid look on his face, instead said to his 100 million TV audience something like: You see, a very clever person has come to visit us and she also recommends this measure.

Well, perhaps to this TV observer she does seem to be a very clever person, but as for me, why should I consider her more clever than myself? I can see no reason why I should do that, no reason whatsoever. One can't demean oneself as much as this. All right, if you want to demean yourself you are welcome to do so, but do not humiliate your nation and your politicians, who are in no way inferior to old bags who come and go [priyezzhiye zayezzhiye babeshki]. So....

[Abakumov, interrupting] Ruslan Imranovich, it is not proper to refer to a woman in such terms.

[Khasbulatov] Right, but is it proper to say: You should disband your parliament? Why didn't your colleague respond properly? Why didn't he remind her of correct behavior? You are reminding me....

[Abakumov, interrupting] I am not reminding, I am only asking.

[Khasbulatov] But I said this deliberately, I knew you would say this to me. I would like to ask you: Why do you not behave with foreign visitors in such a way? I think this colleague should have said: Forgive me, Mrs. Thatcher. You should stand up in your own Parliament and say it is time for Britain to adopt a constitution. That is how things are here.

[Abakumov] Just in passing, we have touched on the second question which, as you said, will be considered at the Supreme Soviet session. I am referring to the dismissal of the security minister. In your opinion, what was the principal reason for the decree signed by the president the other day?

[Khasbulatov] Frankly speaking, the reasons here are not very clear to me. I do not want to say, and I also spoke about this at the presidium: When I do not know something exactly, I prefer not to talk about it. But the point is to look at the sequence of events. There was a meeting of the Security Council at which Minister Barannikov was given a reprimand—and it was probably perfectly justified, as far as I can tell—for a certain lack of preparation in defending the borders of the CIS. That was all.

The next day, all of a sudden, the decree appeared. That gave me another reason for misgivings about what—or who—influenced the president to dismiss the security minister, who I believe had shown himself to be an upholder of the law and had sought to establish order, particularly in government ranks, on the basis of those ill-starred ethics which he was accused of lacking. For some reason, when we spoke about the ethics of other government members, there was no reaction.

On the whole, it seems to me that this most likely had something to do with the fact that this minister knew a lot about corruption affairs in government circles and with his desire to show a real picture to the president. Obviously, someone did not like this, and they decided to deal with him in this way.

I repeat: You must have enough examples, and there should have been such examples. Under the Constitution the subject should have been examined at a meeting of the government, and the head of government should have made a corresponding submission to the president. So if you ask me, I would propose fulfilling the requirements of the law. That, strictly speaking, is the formal side. I am not yet familiar with the substantive side of it, although the chairman of the Supreme Soviet probably ought to be informed of such matters.

Why? Because under the Constitution, issues of foreign and domestic policy are drawn up by the congress and Supreme Soviet, which are responsible for them. Consequently, the work of these four key ministers should of course be under the supervision of parliament, their appointment and dismissal all the more so. Of course neither the head of the government nor the president can arrogate to himself the function of drawing up and pursuing domestic and foreign policy. This would be a violation of the Constitution. Let me point out once again that we have constant violations of the Constitution by senior officials; this is becoming simply intolerable, especially since no benefit is being derived from this.

But there can be no benefit from breaking the law. Have you seen a breach of the Constitution and law bringing any good anywhere? I personally have not. So any breach of the Constitution and law is harmful. It is harmful to the public, society, civic peace, and people's peace of mind.

[Abakumov] That is absolutely right, just as only the courts can reach final verdicts on instances of corruption and crime.

[Khasbulatov] Absolutely right. I agree with you completely.

[Abakumov] But Ruslan Imranovich, let us look at the way that virtually every speech recently by any politician at any level has boiled down to accusations that whoever it may be is corrupt or criminal. This happens all the time. But unfortunately, there has not been a single court verdict. Don't you think that there is a mud-slinging competition in progress now, and that this is a very dangerous competition that is completely undermining the public's faith in all branches of power?

[Khasbulatov] Of course. I have said on several occasions that insults should be left to one side, that we must understand that the most important thing is to preserve at least the standard of living that we had two years or so ago. In my opinion, the constant calls for peaceful and harmonious existence have never stopped. But what can you do if precisely these provocative and dirty methods were resorted to by certain high-ranking officials just before the sixth congress? Not to mention the campaign of vilification and lies directed against me. This has been going on for more than a year, as you well know.

The question is: You asked who started this campaign? You can see that this campaign has been started and is being continued by a narrow circle of people from the president's entourage in the first place. Unfortunately, government officials later joined the campaign.

I must pay tribute to Timur Yegorovich Gaydar. In spite of the fact that as an economist I was criticizing him-....[pauses] By the way, I want to say again that those who tried and are trying to say that I spoke of Gaydar with contempt, etc. were wrong. Of course, not. I always regarded him with respect and I regard him with respect now.

[Abakumov] The media said you were trying to quote him with contempt.

[Khasbulatov] No, this is not true. I regarded him with great respect for many qualities, including for the fact that he did not stoop to such low actions. In my opinion, he had a very strong restraining influence on the government members and he did not allow them to stoop to what Poltoranin and Shumeyko are doing. Therefore, I just want once again....[pauses] Although as an economist and as head of parliament, in general, as head of government, excuse me, I should criticize everyone, even those who work perfectly. You know, it is common practice among parliamentarians all over the world. But I am not criticizing too severely.

So Gaydar had this positive quality. He did not stoop to such intrigues, etc. Unfortunately, after he left the witch-hunt has literally been thriving. Naturally, the other side begins to do the same. This is a principle to be found in the Bible. How can't one understand that nobody will allow oneself to be....[pauses] Moreover, if a lie is involved. Look at what they have done to the vice president. They literally tried to eliminate him.

[Abakumov] Ruslan Imranovich, in this connection does not it seem to you that this wave of lies in the media, both left and right—there are a lot of lies around—that lies or at times very sharp remarks become an incentive in politicians' actions?

[Khasbulatov] Certainly they do. It cannot be otherwise. Moreover, the less competent a politician is, the more he uses this. This is obvious. Or another example: Look at what they tried to do to Zorkin. Once he made a decision which was not to someone's liking, insulting pictures immediately appeared.

Once again I would like to say that this is being insinuated by one side. The other side will immediately stop providing, of course. We are not talking about some extremist forces which can never be stopped. This is natural. In any society there is always a narrow layer of some extremist forces. But if this is a question of the ruling party, and the ruling party today is Democratic Russia....[pauses] This is obvious.

So if they really want democracy, if they want the market, why then can they not find unity with the majority in parliament who are striving for that, with greater persistence even?

Today we no longer have the famous military-industrial complex. Do you know that? It does not exist. The army has been disarmed. Officers are not receiving their salaries. Incidentally, the average salary at military-industrial enterprises is five-sevenths of the national average. Who is responsible for this?

In those conditions we have scraped together the funds to increase defense expenditures by almost 60 percent. Minister Fedorov, referring again in the most mendacious way to some alleged Supreme Soviet decision, is not even giving enough for salaries.

[Abakumov] Nevertheless, the hand of parliament remains outstretched. Not only the hand of parliament, but also the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the chairman....

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Nevertheless, the hand of parliament not only remains, but it must remain outstretched in the search for peace. Otherwise what sort of a parliament is it? What sort of a parliamentary leader is it who, even in the most complex conditions, does not strive to establish peace in his country? That is why when I was ending the supreme economic conference I even asked the participants, the 2,000 people participating in the all- Russian economic conference—of course they were indignant at the absence of members of the government—I appealed to them, friends—this is how it had turned out, they were not to blame, they had been preparing actively—let us continue to work with the government. Of course, that is how we have to work, there is no other way. So once again I say that of course we need consensus. I appeal for it.

[Abakumov] Let us finish on those words. I think it is good place to finish.

[Khasbulatov] Yes. It is my belief that we need accord. Therefore, we must renounce all things superficial. We share the same country, the same economy, and the same people, and the majority of them are suffering. So let us aim for real accord. At any rate, I am ready and am doing all I can for our fatherland to achieve prosperity and for our fellow countrymen to have a peaceful life.

[Abakumov] Thank you.

[Khasbulatov] Thank you.

Ispravnikov Interviewed on Monetary Reform

LD3107073693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Interview with Vladimir Ispravnikov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, by correspondent Alla Tobolnova; place and date not given; from the "Parliamentary Hour" program—recorded]

[Text] [Ispravnikov] First I would like to caution people against the hysteria that has arisen around the monetary exchange measure; it is necessary to get away from our man in the street's presentation of the measures being undertaken by the government and the Central Bank. We need to discuss this in professional language, although these things are, of course, in principle compatible. The professional must act so that people understand their actions.

To one's deep regret this action was not coordinated with the Supreme Soviet, and the leadership of the Supreme Soviet was not informed of the measures under preparation.

[Tobolnova] I draw attention to this because there has also been speculation as to whether the Supreme Soviet did or did not know. The Supreme Soviet did not know about it. Please continue.

[Ispravnikov] You know, I personally find this matter astonishing, because at the time I was on a working trip with Deputy Prime Minister [Aleksandr] Zaveryukha in Novosibirsk Oblast. At about 0200 on 24 July he was given the information. I received absolutely no information as deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. However, that is not in principle the point. The point is that the measure had not been agreed and that there were certain divergencies, certain acts, and certain infringements. On the other hand, representatives of the bank are saying that they acted in accordance with the law and in accordance with the fact that the action had been agreed with the government and with top officials.

[Tobolnova] That is to say, the government knew about it?

[Ispravnikov] Well, you know, how could one do it without the government's knowledge...

[Tobolnova, interrupting] That is what I was emphasizing.

[Ispravnikov] It is not a matter—please listen to this—it is not a matter of whether it was known or was not known and whether this place was prepared or not, etc. It is a matter of something else, namely that this kind of action is simply not carried out by the Central Bank without the government's knowledge. I consider that there was a definite for the Supreme Soviet to have been informed beforehand, and then we would of course not have permitted those organizational and technical foul-ups that occurred in the first few days of the exchange.

Let us now talk a bit and reason with our citizens. The purpose of the action is clear. I consider that it was probably not fortuitous that the president, with whom these actions were coordinated, saw ahead of himself in principle the following strategic goal. Yes, formally, a ruble zone is being preserved among the republics of the former Union and now among the CIS states. At the same time, these republics, while within the ruble zone, are making the transition to their own currencies—to their own various national units—and they are supported by the mass of commodities situated within the territory of the CIS states. The question arises: Where should the rubles which the citizens on their territory have accumulated go? These rubles are taken to Russia, goods are bought up and taken outside Russia. It is clear that this ruble zone cannot exist within normal parameters. Therefore, I ask, the strategic aim of regulating the ruble zone and clearly defining—what does it mean? First of all, it means either to set up an interstate bank, or to give the functions to one of the existing banks—and no doubt the Russian Central Bank is suitable for this role—so that only this bank should circulate the ruble as a monetary unit and regulate the interest rate. As a matter of fact, look what is happening: for example, in Belarus there is one interest rate on credits, in Russia there is a completely different one, and in Kazakhstan there is yet a third version. In this case we cannot balance monetary issues. It means that colossal hyperinflation will continue.

In this respect, as an economist, I can understand the aims. I can also understand the actions to implement the aims. But on the other hand, there are the methods. Organizing the process—customs issues and confidentiality issues—they of course leave much to be desired, to say the least. In fact one decision was made, then another decision was made, then it looks as if a third decision is to be made. But you know what it means to change the conditions of exchanging or handing in monetary units. It is not excluded—and according to some sources it is exactly what happened—that some commercial structures knew about the exchange of money in advance. It was not difficult to notice; near a stall by the metro station, they were exchanging old rubles for new ones at a rate of three old rubles for a new one. Now some have saved a lot of old banknotes. They need to sell them somehow, to hand them in or to exchange them for new rubles at the rate of one to one. Therefore, dashing in the opposite extreme is extremely dangerous, first of all for the ruble situation in the Russian monetary market. Therefore, it somewhat surprises me when some members of the government say they do not agree with the actions of the government itself, etc.

Dunayev Says His, Barannikov's Removal 'Illegal'

PM0208103393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report on Supreme Soviet Presidium session incorporating "transcript" of speech by Andrey Dunayev, former first deputy minister of internal affairs: "Pugo Promised He Would Be the First To Be Shot, but Yeltsin Sent Him into Retirement. Andrey Dunayev, Former First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Explains the Reasons for his Dismissal"]

[Text] As has already been reported, by a decree based on Article 121(5) of the Russian Federation Constitution and the law "On the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation" the Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed that the presidential edict on releasing Viktor Barannikov from the post of minister of security has no legal force. It was put to the president that he should resolve the question of the minister of security in accordance with the procedure stipulated by the law.

It was noted at the Presidium session that the hasty removal of the security minister without compliance with the procedure laid down by the law and the Constitution has caused disquiet. It was decided to task a special commission with investigating the circumstances and tenability of the president's dismissal of V. Barannikov.

These circumstances are already raising questions. Thus, according to data from Aleksandr Korovnikov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Affairs of Invalids and War and Labor Veterans and the Social Protection of Servicemen and Members of Their Families, at 1100 hours on 27 July Viktor Barannikov presented a report to the president on instances of corruption in top organs of state power, primarily the government. Immediately after the report B. Yeltsin signed the edict releasing the minister from his post.

Because of sickness V. Barannikov was unable to attend the Supreme Soviet Presidium session himself, but it was addressed by Andrey Dunayev, former first deputy minister of internal affairs, whom the president also removed from his post a few days ago.

The editorial office has in its possession a transcript of A. Dunayev's speech at the Supreme Soviet Presidium session. We offer it for readers' attention:

"From 5 July 1993 I was on routine leave. On 22 July I received a cable from the Russian Federation minister of internal affairs recalling me from leave. On 23 July I arrived in Moscow and learned from the radio that I had been removed from the post of Russian Federation first deputy minister of internal affairs. On 24 July Minister Viktor Fedorovich Yerin told me that a former aide to Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, had given come kind of evidence compromising myself, the security minister, and some other officials.

"Without obtaining explanations from me or familiarizing himself with the official findings on this matter, Viktor Fedorovich Yerin prepared a draft edict on my dismissal, flew to where Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was on vacation, and signed it [as published].

"On 24 July Yerin demanded that I file for discharge on sickness grounds, warning that otherwise things would go badly for me.

"The real reason for removing me from my post is that I have openly stated and continue to state that Viktor Fedorovich Yerin and the leadership of the internal troops, who passed weapons to the Ingush, are to blame for the bloody consequences of the Ingush-Ossetian conflict.

"Furthermore, in a situation of repeated and direct calls for representative power to be smashed and knowing my commitment to democratic methods, my determination and influence within the MVD, and the fact that I cannot be swayed on this matter and would stand up in defense of democracy, they decided to use a manifestly illegal method to get rid of me.

"It is my view that the same also happened to Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov. Unfortunately he was unable to stand the stress and fell ill. Moreover, some officials in the president's entourage are conducting manifestly antipresidential activity, know that I would not betray the president, and have long dreamed of discrediting me. I have also received threats for the exposure under my leadership of massive thefts based on fake payment notices to banks.

"Furthermore, on 7 May 1993 I received a call on the dedicated line [zvonok po ATS-1] from Minister Viktor Fedorovich Yerin. He demanded that I intern Anpilov for 9 May 1993 to prevent him participating in a rally. I told him my thoughts based on the law. Yerin rejected them.

"Analyzing recent events, I concluded that I am the only indirect witness of the violence against Anpilov, who they had decided to get rid of.

"Some of the mass media are attempting to link my removal from post with the poor results of the struggle against crime. No, I'm not satisfied with these results either. But look at these figures: With approximately the same manpower levels 35,067 more serious crimes were detected in the first six months of the year compared to last year—a rise of 36.4 percent more than the same period last year. Detection rates were up by 47.9 percent for homicides and 43 percent for grievous bodily harm, robberies, and theft. Some 43.9 percent more cases of graft and 47.7 percent more cases of embezzlement on a large or especially large scale were detected.

"Unfortunately Minister Yerin—without consulting with his first deputy; with me, who was in charge of the criminal militia; with the MVD collegium; or with the chiefs of the operational administrations—separated the Administration for Combatting Organized Crime from the criminal militia and created 11 interregional administrations to combat organized crime, attaching to them mobile groups and detachments of 200-plus men. And this has been the result. The best personnel are leaving the criminal investigation department and the units for combating economic crime. The 16,000 staffers of the Main Administration for Combating Economic Crime uncovered 41,533 crimes, whereas the units to combat organized crime, with over 20,000 men, uncovered 3,192 crimes—0.2 percent of the total number of recorded crimes.

"In the situation that has developed you wonder what mobile detachments with armored vehicles and helicopters are needed for.

"You should not think that I have come to the Presidium to protect my former job. No. I served 36 years in operational investigation work. I have been Russian minister and first deputy minister of internal affairs. Would that everyone could have such a career. I have earned my pension, but I have not put my life and future on the line to connive at a repetition of 1937 [reference to Stalin purges].

"In August 1991 I, just one of Russia's generals, gave a direct order to armed MVD detachments to come to Moscow and defend democracy and the White House despite the fact that Pugo had threatened that I would be the first to be shot. I saw it though to the end. And it was with a section of this detachment that Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy and I flew to Foros, arrested some of the putschists, and brought Gorbachev back to Moscow.

"It is important to know what kind of system we use our sons to defend. For precisely this reason and in the full knowledge of the reaction to and possible consequences of my speech, I am ready to struggle for democracy."

Decree on Missile Technology Control Treaties

PM3007144793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jul 93 First Edition p 10

[Decree No. 5482-1 of the Supreme Soviet on the Ratification of International Treaties and Agreements Concerning the Missile Technology Control Regime, signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and dated Moscow, Russian House of Soviets, 21 July 1993]

[Text] Attaching great importance to questions of preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including the missile technology control regime

[MTCR], and supporting actions aimed at achieving accord in the international community on these questions, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. International treaties and agreements in the sphere of the MTCR, to which the Russian Federation is party, are liable to ratification by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

2. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic Commission for Transport, Communications, Information Technology, and Space; the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations; and the deputies' group for effective monitoring of military-technical cooperation with foreign countries are to conduct parliamentary hearings into the question of conditions for the Russian Federation's accession to the MTCR.

[Signed] Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman R.I. Khasbulatov
[Dated] Moscow, Russian House of Soviets, 21 July 1993
No. 5482-1

Regional Affairs

Administrative Head, Corps Commander Killed in Ossetia

LD0108205593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2032 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow, 2 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—Viktor Polyanichko, the head of the interim administration in the Ossetian-Ingush emergency zone, died on 1 August after being shot in an ambush. Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray told this to the ITAR-TASS correspondent in an exclusive interview. He also announced that Major General Anatoliy Koretskiy, corps commander and people's deputy of North Ossetia, was killed in the shooting.

Sergey Shakhray has expressed his condolences to the relatives of Viktor Polyanichko and Anatoliy Koretskiy in connection with the tragic deaths, and said that he is urgently flying out to the conflict zone today. Sergey Shakhray said that he has temporarily invested Lieutenant General Yuriy Shatalin with the duties of head of the temporary administration.

Yeltsin's Office Head on Deaths

LD0208002093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2230 GMT 1 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow, 2 August—Sergey Filatov, head of the Office of the Russian President, in a conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent today, expressed condolences in connection with yesterday's tragedy in the emergency zone on the territory of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. Viktor Polyanichko, the head of the provisional administration, and Corps Commander Major General Anatoliy Koretskiy were killed. Filatov told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that according to the information at his disposal four escorting servicemen were also killed.

Russian Minister of Internal Affairs Viktor Yerin told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that an operational inquiry group of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs flew immediately to Vladikavkaz. It is expected that Viktor Polyanichko's body will be taken to Moscow this morning by military transport plane.

An informed source reported from Vladikavkaz that the machine-gun fire at the two cars in which the head of the provisional administration and the corps commander were travelling with those accompanying them occurred from an ambush in the village of Tarskoye in Prigorodnyy Rayon where the emergency is in force.

Shakhray, Other Officials Arrive in Vladikavkaz

LD0208094193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0843 GMT 2 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Aug—Russian Government Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray arrived in Vladikavkaz today, following the killing of Viktor Polyanichko, head of the provisional administration in the state of emergency zone in Ingushetia and North Ossetia, and Major General Anatoliy Koretskiy, commander of the Army Corps.

A group of highly-qualified specialists from the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry, headed by Militia Lieutenant General Mikhail Yegorov, the first deputy minister and head of the Main Directorate on Organized Crime, has also arrived in the region today. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by the Public Relations Center of Russia's Internal Affairs Ministry that the group also includes Militia Major General Vladimir Kolesnikov, the head of the Main Criminal Investigation Directorate. It was under his leadership that the murderers of Colonel Blakhotin, who was killed two years ago at his home in Rostov-na-Donu, were uncovered.

Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin described Viktor Polyanichko, the acting head of the temporary administration as "a courageous man and a powerful politician." In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, he emphasized that "Polyanichko's courage was even demonstrated by the fact that he agreed to take on the job of head of the temporary administration, that had already been refused by 20 men."

In the words of Yuriy Shatalin, the tragedy has seriously aggravated the situation in the region. Military forces are undertaking a number of measures to stabilize this situation by reinforcing their posts and organizing patrols.

Grachev Arrives To Investigate Killings

LD0208113493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1047 GMT 2 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz August 2 TASS—Russian Defence Minister, Army General Pavel Grachev arrived in Vladikavkaz today to look into the situation following the tragic death of two high officials in the conflict zone in North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic.

North Ossetian Security Council Secretary, Major General Aleksandr Khodov told ITAR-TASS about the tragic event in which head of the temporary administration of the zone under the state of emergency Viktor Polyanichko and Vladikavkaz garrison chief, Major General Anatoliy Koretskiy died.

Polyanichko and Koretskiy were riding in a Volga car en route to a meeting with an Ingush armed group who had earlier disarmed an army unit in the Djeirakh valley when gun fire from a nearby stretch of forest hit the car at 16:30 on August 1. It was near the village of Tarskoye of the Prigorodny District. Viktor Polyanichko and Anatoliy Koretskiy were hit by numerous bullets and soon died.

Polyanichko's body guard, Senior Lieutenant Viktor Kravchuk was also gravely wounded and died later. Three other guards were also wounded.

The guards returned fire but the attackers escaped. Gun cartridges, 7.62 mm and 5.45 mm, were later found on the site.

According to Aleksandr Khodov, North Ossetian military and law enforcement agents are now busy looking for the terrorists.

President Ruslan Aushev of the Ingush Republic told ITAR-TASS he would help organise search for the criminals.

A commemorative service was held in the officers' house in Vladikavkaz today and a public meeting took place to mourn Viktor Polyanichko, Anatoliy Koretskiy and Viktor Kravchuk. The three bodies will be flown to Moscow aboard a special plane.

Shakhray To Wait for Results of Investigation

LD0208125993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Aug 93

[Excerpt] Russian Federation Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray will remain in Vladikavkaz until the circumstances of Viktor Polyanichko's death have been clarified. Shakhray announced this today at a joint session of the North Ossetia Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers.

Shakhray called upon the republic's leaders and the mass media to refrain from putting out various versions of the tragedy and from naming either Ossetians or Ingush as culprits. The deputy premier said that the investigation will take several days; it is being carried out by a special group of crime experts from Moscow. [passage omitted]

North Ossetia Adopts Statement

LD0208135093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1216 GMT 2 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 2 Aug—The leadership of North Ossetia has made a call to use the full force of the law to bring to account those responsible for the tragedy which happened in the state of emergency zone on 1 August, says a statement from the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers Presidiums of North Ossetia, sent to the president, chairman of parliament, and head of government of the Russian Federation. The statement was adopted today in Vladikavkaz at an extraordinary joint session of the Parliament and Council of Ministers Presidiums of the North-Ossetian SSR in connection with the death of Viktor Polyanichko, head of the provisional administration, and Anatoliy Koretskiy, head of the Vladikavkaz garrison.

Rumors Circulate of Azerbaijani-Turkish Link

LD0208151193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 2 Aug 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Shakhray, Defense Minister Grachev, Chief of the General Staff Kolesnikov, and a large investigation group arrived in Vladikavkaz today. [passage omitted]

POSTFAKTUM reports a version that is currently circulating in the Russian Parliament, alleging that Viktor Polyanichko was killed on contract by the Azerbaijani-Turkish group the "Grey Wolves", which had condemned Polyanichko to death in absentia for his active role in bringing troops of the Soviet Army into Baku in January 1990. But experts believe that the murder was linked with the Ossetian-Ingush events.

Ingush Leaders Express Sorrow Over Deaths

LD0208141193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1310 GMT 2 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shvetsov]

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—"The leadership of the Ingush Republic has received the news of treacherous murder of acting head of administration in the emergency zone Viktor Polyanchenko with deep anxiety and sorrow," a statement circulated by president of Ingushetia Husein Barakhoyev's press secretary said today.

The document noted, on the eve of the tragedy Viktor Polyanchenko had pointed out: "Specific forces are by all means trying to hinder the return of deported Ingush citizens to their homes on the territory of northern Ossetia. The return of Ingush refugees to four already agreed to settlements of the Prigorod district of northern Ossetia was planned for August 2."

"The Ingush people and its leadership condemn this act of terror with anger and express condolences to parents of the victims," the president of Ingushetia press secretary statement said.

Text of Yeltsin's Ossetia, Ingushetia Emergency Edict

PM0208124593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Russian Federation presidential edict No. 1149 of 27 July 1993: "On the Introduction of a State of Emergency on the Territory of Mozdokskiy Rayon, Prigorodnyy Rayon, and Adjoining Areas of the North Ossetian SSR, and the Ingush Republic's Malgobekskiy and Nazranovskiy Rayons"]

[Text] In connection with the continuing exacerbation of the situation on part of the territory of the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Ingush Republic, and the increasingly frequent acts of terrorism and firefights in border regions, largely brought about by the lack of any substantive progress in implementing the Kislovodsk agreement on measures to comprehensively solve the problem of refugees and enforced resettlers, and by the lack of the political will to settle the conflict, the untimely and incomplete financing of measures to fit out and build housing for the refugees, and the incomplete fulfillment by the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs and Defense Ministry of Russian Federation presidential edict No. 788 of 29 May 1993 "On the Introduction of a State of Emergency on the Territory of Mozdokskiy Rayon, Prigorodnyy Rayon, and Adjoining Areas of the North Ossetian SSR, and the Ingush Republic's Malgobekskiy and Nazranovskiy Rayons" with regard to strengthening force groupings to support the state of emergency in accordance with the RSFSR Law "On the State of Emergency" and the Russian Federation Law "On Security," **I decree that:**

1. The state of emergency on the territory of Mozdokskiy Rayon, Prigorodnyy Rayon, and adjoining areas of the North Ossetian SSR, and the Ingush Republic's Malgobekskiy and Nazranovskiy Rayons shall be lifted as of 1400 on 31 July 1993.

2. Guided by the RSFSR Law "On the State of Emergency" (Articles 4 and 9), a state of emergency shall be introduced from 1400 on 31 July 1993 until 1400 on 30 September 1993 on the territories of:

the North Ossetian SSR

Mozdokskiy Rayon, part of the territory of Pravoberezhnyy Rayon (the population centers of Staryy Batakayurt, Zilga, Olginskoye, and the "Vladikavkaz" Airport), Prigorodnyy Rayon (the settlements of Mayskoye, Chermen, Komgaron, and Tarskoye), and the city of Vladikavkaz (the settlements of Yuzhnyy, Chernorechenskoye, Terk, Balta, Chmi, Nizhniy Lars, Sredniy Lars, Verkhniy Lars, and Ezmi).

the Ingush Republic

Malgobekskiy and Nazranovskiy Rayons.

3. In accordance with Articles 15-17 of the RSFSR Law "On the State of Emergency" an Interim Administration (hereinafter referred to as the Interim Administration) shall be introduced as a form of special rule for the duration of the state of emergency on the territory of Mozdokskiy Rayon, Prigorodnyy Rayon, and adjoining areas of the North Ossetian SSR, and the Ingush Republic's Malgobekskiy and Nazranovskiy Rayons.

4. For the duration of the state of emergency the Interim Administration shall take the measures envisaged under Articles 22 and 23 of the RSFSR Law "On the State of Emergency" in the context of the prevailing situation.

5. The Interim Administration and the organs set up under it shall be instructed for the duration of the state of emergency to carry out the agreement signed in the city of Kislovodsk 20 March 1993 on measures to comprehensively solve the problem of refugees and enforced resettlers on the territory of the Ingush Republic and the North Ossetian SSR.

6. The Interim Administration is the successor under the established procedure to the Interim Administration that was introduced as a form of special rule on the territory of Mozdokskiy Rayon, Prigorodnyy Rayon, and adjoining areas of the North Ossetian SSR, and the Ingush Republic's Malgobekskiy and Nazranovskiy Rayons by Russian Federation presidential edict No. 788 of 29 May 1993.

7. The Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, and the Russian Federation Defense Ministry forces assigned to the Interim Administration shall take measures to prevent any armed clashes between opposing parties, to protect citizens' security, and to ensure unswerving observance of the state of emergency.

8. In order to ensure observance of the state of emergency:

the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs shall maintain an internal forces grouping of 5,000 men;

the Russian Federation Defense Ministry shall reinforce the previously established force grouping by increasing the number of Army helicopters.

9. At a special session the Russian Federation Security Council shall make a political assessment of the events of October-November 1992 on the territory of the North

Ossetian SSR and elaborate proposals on measures to settle the conflict, taking account of the situation currently prevailing.

10. The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry shall ensure that talks are held with the Republic of Georgia on the return to their former homes of the refugees from Georgia currently on North Ossetian territory.

11. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government shall ensure:

a) the implementation of measures connected with the introduction of the state of emergency, including their financing;

b) the timely and full financing of measures to comprehensively solve the problem of refugees and enforced resettlers;

c) in conjunction with the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, the further holding of talks to settle the conflict.

12. The North Ossetian SSR Council of Ministers and the Ingush Republic Council of Ministers shall report to a session of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium-Government in the first half of August 1993 on the work done to carry out the agreements on the questions of disarming illegal armed formations, settling and making provision for refugees at their temporary homes, and implementing the Kislovodsk agreement on measures to comprehensively solve the problem of refugees and enforced resettlers.

13. In accordance with Articles 5 and 11 of the RSFSR Law "On the State of Emergency" this edict shall be sent to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet for ratification.

14. This edict comes into force from the moment of its signing.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
Moscow, the Kremlin
27 July 1993
No. 1149

Shooting Continues in North Ossetia

LD3007124193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1204 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanaev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz July 30 TASS—According to the information of the North Ossetian Security Council, the situation in the state of emergency area continues to be tense. Villages in the border areas of North Ossetia continue to be shelled. Attacks continue to be staged on militia check points and mobile army groups. Thus, an unidentified man fired from an automatic weapon at a Russian Army squad in a suburb of Vladikavkaz at 22.00 on Thursday. He was firing from the right bank of the Terek River. The situation was also tense at the outskirts of the Ossetian villages of Chermen and Yuzhny. Shooting took place there. No losses were reported.

North Ossetia seems to have been swept by a wave of subversive acts. A home-made explosive device blew up at the railway terminal on July 20, at 21.20, shortly before the departure of the Vladikavkaz-Moscow train. By a lucky chance, none of the passengers, their friends and relative who were seeing them off, were injured. Previously acts of subversion were staged at the Darghok-Elkhotovo section of the railway line, at a tramway in Vladikavkaz, at the central market place of Vladikavkaz. According to the North Ossetian Interior Ministry, 14 various crimes were committed in the republic during the past 24 hours. Nine were exposed immediately afterwards.

Aushev's Threat To Withdraw 'Not More Than a Bluff'

PM0208132493 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Yevtushenko: "If General Is Bluffing, Then It Is Successfully"]

[Text] At a news conference in Moscow, Ruslan Aushev, the republic's president, called a referendum on withdrawal from the Russian Federation one of the most probable versions for the development of events in Ingushetia.

According to the provisions for a settlement of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict elaborated in Kislovodsk and later repeatedly confirmed at various meetings, it was planned to resolve the main problem—the return of refugees—by the start of this July. But it has turned out that everything is not that simple.

In the opinion of experts, Aushev's statement on Ingushetia's possible withdrawal from Russia is not more than a bluff. That is, to use military language, the general was trying to draw fire and to attract special attention from the Russian top echelons toward the Ingush problem. And it must be said he has succeeded. Last Thursday Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin held an urgent meeting with Ruslan Aushev. According to information which has seeped through from these talks the Russian Federation leadership has managed to persuade the Ingush president not to raise the question of the republic's withdrawal from Russia at today's congress of peoples of Ingushetia.

But according to unofficial reports in the recent conclusion of Ingushetia's treaty with Chechnya Dudayev and Aushev spoke of the possibility, in the long term, of the reunification of these two republics. Understandably, on the basis of full sovereignty from the Russian Federation. And this information immediately traveled via Dudayev's secretary of state to the Near East countries—to circles displaying a certain interest in including the Muslim republics of the former Union in the camp of Islamic fundamentalism. I think that it is no accident that alongside representatives of the cossacks and the Chechen republic, delegations from Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon are expected to take part in the congress of peoples of Ingushetia.

Congress of Peoples of Ingushetia Opens in Nazran

Aushev Criticizes Russian Stand

LD3107114193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] A Congress of Peoples of Ingushetia, a republic in the North Caucasus within the Russian Federation, has opened in Nazran today. Delegates will discuss ways to settle the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, a constitution of the Ingush Republic and a bill of land reform.

Before the congress opened the Ingush president Ruslan Aushev told journalists that it would be good to discuss at the congress ways for a peaceful solution of the problems between North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Earlier, Mr. Aushev criticized the Russian leaders' stand on the issue of settling the conflict and said that the congress may consider the republic's secession from the Russian Federation.

Talk of Secession Discounted

MK3107112093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 4

[Dmitriy Kamyshev report: "Settlement in North Caucasus. Moscow Assures Ingushetia of Its Support"]

[Text] A Congress of the Peoples of Ingushetia opens in Nazran today to examine the situation in the republic and possible ways of solving its economic and political problems. It will perhaps raise the question of a referendum on secession from Russia, while the final decision would largely depend on Ingushetia President Ruslan Aushev's stance.

It was previously reported that Ruslan Aushev spoke of the possible secession from Russia in a press conference on Wednesday. In his view, the Ingush Republic has so far received nothing from the Russian authorities, who are not interested in solving the refugee problem and fail to act on their own decrees in regard to it. This statement, however, hardly reflects Ruslan Aushev's real intentions, and it must have been made with the aim of bringing pressure to bear on Russia's president and prime minister shortly before their meeting with the leaders of Ingushetia and North Ossetia.

Clearly, secession from Russia is not going to help Ingushetia solve its main task today—to have the refugees go back to Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia which, in such a case, would end up totally out of bounds for "foreign" Ingushes. A reunification with Chechnya may ease Ingushetia's economic position, but the tens of thousands of refugees forever cut off from their land would remain a force threatening peace and stability of both Ingushetia and the entire North Caucasus.

It is noteworthy that Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs, cited virtually the same reasons for the continued tensions in the conflict zone as the Ingush president: the failure to act on the Kislovodsk treaties on refugee problems signed this past March, the absence of funds for the government-accepted programs on rebuilding of housing and provision of financial aid, and the failure to act on presidential edicts and resolutions of the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia for the settlement of the conflict. He mentioned this as he presented some information during the above meeting of Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin with Akhsarbek Galazov and Ruslan Aushev. At the same time, the president and the premier assured the leaders of the North Caucasus republics that these drawbacks would be corrected and the process of a phased return of the refugees to their homelands would start as early as August. Considering that similar assurances were given at different levels of power before, the Ingush leader is likely to talk tough to Moscow for some time until there is a flicker of real results.

Federation Treaty Deemed 'Unacceptable'

LD3107180793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1630 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Ingushetia, North Caucasus, 31 Jul—The Congress of the People of Ingushetia, which was held here today, has deemed unacceptable Ingushetia's signing of the Federation Treaty and participation of the republic's representatives in the Constitutional Conference. President Aushev has been advised to recall Ingushetia's people's deputies from the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and arrange a referendum containing a question on Ingushetia possibly leaving the Russian Federation unless the program for the settling of refugees and displaced persons gets off the ground before 1 September 1993.

The participants of the Congress, which fulfills the role of parliament over the current period of the establishment of Ingush statehood, have adopted an appeal to the leadership of the Russian Federation, leaders and parliaments of CIS countries, and heads of administration of the krays and oblasts of the Russian Federation, in which they draw attention to the fact that the situation in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone is tending to worsen. The document strongly criticizes the leadership of the Russian Federation and North Ossetia.

The forum participants have demanded that a politico-legal assessment of the conflict be made, that those who are to blame be called to account, and that the issue of refugees and displaced persons be solved in accordance with the Russian Federation president's decrees and resolutions of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet adopted earlier.

The Congress has approved the draft constitution of the Ingush Republic and has recommended that it be discussed nationwide. A document on the principles of the formation of Ingushetia's parliament has been adopted.

Chechnya, Ingushetia Sign Treaty on Determining Borders

LD0108093393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Chechnya and Ingushetia have signed a treaty in Groznyy on the principles for determining borders, the Yezhednevnaya Glasnost agency reports. The document, inter alia, indicates that the two sides undertake not to carry out territorial demarcation and not set up state borders between Chechnya and Ingushetia. No third party is permitted to take part in talks on territorial demarcation.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Interviewed on Nuclear Arms, Foreign Policy

LD3007175393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Report on interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by an unidentified correspondent in Kiev on 29 July—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk was interviewed today by Ukrainian Television on the "With the President on Thursday" program. We offer this interview for your attention.

The needle of the political compass, as opposed to an ordinary compass, can point in various directions. Where is the needle of Ukraine's foreign policy pointing today? To the West? To the East? To what extent does its current orientation influence the resolution of our internal problems? This was the first question put to the Ukrainian president.

[Kravchuk] I think it would be better to say it this way: This needle is pointing to the protection of our state's national interests. This is the main thing. When the Supreme Council, in accordance with the president's submission, adopted the resolution on the main directions of Ukraine's foreign policy, then it was very much guided, in my opinion, by this very position of how to protect Ukraine's national interests.

If one is to pose the question that way, then it is probably best to reply with these words: We should cooperate with all countries in the interests of our people and our state, regardless of whether they are to the east, west, north, or south. The truth is that there is one detail: We have to be guided by the realities of today. These realities are that Ukraine is a member of the CIS and that its interests—economic ones above all, but not only economic ones—have the greatest force in these very countries. This is the first thing.

The second thing is that we have neighbors, both to the west and east, and in our foreign policy we are also guided by the principle of good-neighborliness with those states nearest to us.

The third thing is that there are countries in which there is a considerable part of the Ukrainian diaspora. This does not depend on whether they are on our border or not. We naturally have to take heed of the priorities of those countries while protecting and maintaining a policy which will suit the interests of our state and which would suit citizens of Ukrainian descent in those states.

There is the general concept; this is cooperation with all states. There is a particularity: Once we are in the CIS, then our priorities are there. But in terms of countries from the CIS itself, then naturally our relations with Russia are in the forefront.

[Announcer] Many of Ukraine's citizens, the Ukrainian Television correspondent observed, believe that Russia can direct the policies of our state. Leonid Kravchuk replied:

[Kravchuk] Well, I do not think that it can direct; naturally it can influence our foreign policy by its actions. But if one is to take foreign policy in relation to Russia itself—I have this in mind—if one is to take our foreign policy strategy, then it is determined not by Russia; it is determined by Ukraine now. But naturally there is influence on our foreign policy, on our actions.

As far as bilateral relations with Russia are concerned, then naturally these depend on both Russia and Ukraine. After all, we act as partners, as neighbors. If Russia, and the Russian parliament—I have already spoken about this and do not want to repeat myself—in adopting this resolution on the status of the town of Sevastopol, it has obviously interfered in our internal affairs.

Here I must speak about the vigorous activity of our Foreign Ministry. It was precisely our Ministry of Foreign Affairs that spoke vigorously at this time. Our appeal to the United Nations, to the Security Council, and the adoption of a statement by the chairman of the Security Council, the formulations of which were proposed by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, demonstrate our vigor.

We had support on Russia's part. This is very good. I have in mind Russia's executive authority, both the president and the Russian foreign economic department, as well as the Russian representative at the United Nations. We cooperated on this.

As you see, it is not unequivocal. There are matters on which we differ, and there are matters on which we cooperate. But to expect that it will always be so in foreign policy—that we will have no differences—is not realistic. The main thing is to sensibly get out of those differences, to go on to those relations which, I am convinced, our people want today, the people of both Ukraine and Russia.

[Announcer] The next question, in connection with Ukraine's foreign policy and its security, concerned the nonnuclear status of Ukraine, which until not so long ago was one of the elements of the Soviet side or angle of the nuclear triangle—the USSR, the United States, and China.

[Kravchuk] I do not think that there is such an angle at the moment. There is a distinctiveness in today's political development in that sphere. What I mean is the fulfillment of obligations arising from START I and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

That occurred in a manner independent, in this case, of either Ukraine or Russia. The Soviet Union disintegrated. Four states formed on the basis of the Union, on whose territory nuclear weapons remained. In other words, we—Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Russia, naturally—inherited these nuclear weapons from the former Union.

Thus, Ukraine acts as a party to the treaty from now on. But I would like to repeat that there are nuclear weapons on its territory that were inherited. That determines the distinctiveness of the present situation.

As the Supreme Council on 2 July adopted the resolution on the main guidelines of foreign policy that I have already spoken about, there was the following thesis included in it, which was proposed by the Foreign Affairs Commission. I will simply read it out to you. Great discussion on it is currently under way:

Proceeding from the fact that a nuclear war will have catastrophic consequences for the whole of humankind, Ukraine deems the use of nuclear weapons impermissible.

In its foreign political activity, Ukraine actively comes out in favor of comprehensive nuclear disarmament.

Having become the owner of nuclear weapons inherited by it from the former USSR due to historical circumstances, Ukraine will never sanction using them—this sentence is very important now—and will exclude threatening to use nuclear weapons from the arsenal of its foreign policy. That is to say, it is excluded from the arsenal of our foreign policy, which is very important.

Thus, the Supreme Council's resolution did not say that Ukraine was a nuclear state. It said that Ukraine was the owner of nuclear weapons deployed on its territory due to historical circumstances. It recorded the situation concerning nuclear weapons. There is nothing new about it.

I will remind you that in 1991, for example, the Ukrainian parliament adopted the law on 10 September. It is set down there as follows:

The property and financial resources of enterprises, institutions, organizations, and other facilities in the Union's jurisdiction, which are on the territory of Ukraine, are owned by the Ukrainian state.

Thus, this is the property owned by the Ukrainian state, which is on our territory. All the Supreme Council did was confirm the right of ownership. But it did not change the course and the position on Ukraine's status—which is very important. That is to say, Ukraine's position remained as that of a state that is to become nonnuclear. That line has continued from the declaration until now.

Neither the Supreme Council, the president, nor anyone else have changed their course. The resolution confirmed the situation and emphasized that Ukraine will proceed toward the elimination of nuclear weapons in accordance with its status and its course.

The legally binding force, however, will only commence when the Supreme Council ratifies the START I and the treaty.

I emphasize this, as it is very important: the legally binding force. That is, the statements and speeches of today are not legally binding. They are positions. But parliament, after confirming our position with its resolution, after ratifying START I and the treaty on not acceding, after this has happened, this status or this task will become legally binding for all branches of power. [sentence as heard]

[Announcer] The Ukrainian Television correspondent noted that there are various interpretations of the fact that Ukraine is not implementing its obligations to eliminate its nuclear arsenal and regarding the time period for disarmament. The Ukrainian president gave this explanation:

[Kravchuk] First, exact and precise formulations are very important in this acute problem, formulations which have both an internal order and which are confirmed by international principles and norms. Here I would like to refer to documents so that it is clearer and more precise.

When parliament ratifies the START I Treaty, then all the nuclear weapons, the destruction of which is envisaged by this treaty and the limit of which will be determined in the agreement envisaged in the Lisbon Protocol on limits [limity], should be eliminated in this time period. I emphasize: the nuclear weapons, the destruction of which is envisaged by the treaty and by defined limits in accordance with the Lisbon Protocol.

All of this will be eliminated; (?that is), it should be eliminated. Technical possibilities then come up, economic ones, organizational ones, and technical ones. This is then a problem. It goes beyond the protocol interpretation, which I mentioned to you, and is a legally recorded, well-considered, and internationally correct interpretation, both of the treaty and of the Lisbon Protocol.

Then there is the destruction process. Well, we do not have exact calculations at the moment of just how much money is needed. The mass media reported today that our defense minister had a conversation—he is in the United States at the moment—and that there is an accord on granting Ukraine $175 million. Considerably more is needed, however, to destroy nuclear weapons. Ukraine today, I say this sincerely, does not have such capabilities—neither economic nor organizational.

So we did not turn by chance to the world community about setting up an appropriate disarmament fund. I spoke about this before, when I was in Davos and at news conferences. Well, this idea is advancing very slowly. I am convinced that this idea, however, and the setting up of this fund would suit not only Ukraine's interests, but also the interests of humanity in the whole world because it is about destroying nuclear weapons.

We do not have this realistic, economic, organizational, or scientific possibility at the moment. This means that we need to agree on this. Our government has prepared appropriate agreements with the Russian Government. I think that they will be signed regarding this aspect of the question. In this way, there are two points: the juridical—well, say the international aspect, the legal aspect—and technical and economic regulation. They ought to be combined. When they are combined with the help of other states interested in this—and I think that almost all of them should be interested in this—then this will become reality.

[Announcer] However, the Ukrainian Television correspondent stressed, many people are rather afraid that the presence of nuclear missiles on Ukraine's territory, if not a threat to someone beyond its borders, it is still a real danger to the people of our own country.

[Kravchuk] There are truly reasons to be apprehensive here, although I should say one thing: Our nuclear weapons, which are located on our land, are not the same as the nuclear weapons....[pauses] They cannot be compared, for example, with the nuclear weapons of the United States, Great Britain, France, China, or Russia. Those states have their own technology for producing nuclear weapons, their own technology and the industry to produce them. They have set up programs to aim nuclear weapons. In fact, they have the technical possibilities to utilize and test them. We do not have any of this. We only inherited nuclear weapons.

Thus, our nuclear weapons do not pose any threat to other states. What is more, we do not, have not, and will not set ourselves the task of zeroing them in on a target. We do not have the technological capabilities; nor do we assign ourselves such a task.

Thus, these nuclear weapons of ours are a legacy and, realistically speaking, they cannot be reproduced in Ukraine. That is to say, we do not have either the industry or the technology—to speak nothing of the enormous funds that would be required had such a task been assigned. However, we do not even set ourselves that task. Our course is nonnuclear, and we proceed toward a nonnuclear Ukraine. That is one aspect.

The other is that, indeed, they are now being serviced by the same servicemen as those who serviced them when there was a Soviet Union. I recently visited one of the missile units; it seems to me you were there with me and saw that the technological level of their servicing was quite high. It was done with great responsibility by the military. We settled a number of organizational, material, and day-to-day issues there concerning those people dealing directly with nuclear weapons. We expressly decided there that those nuclear warheads—the service life span of which, if I could say so, is expiring—will be removed and transferred to appropriate facilities.

That is to say, it is very important that, regardless of how the ratification progresses, we will be taking the warheads off those missiles for which the service life span has expired or run out and will store them at facilities on Ukrainian territory that are specially adapted to suit that purpose.

So, that alone dismisses any threat, since the warheads will be removed from especially those systems, I think, that were built quite a long time ago, which is 130 (?liquid-fuel) missiles.

Thus, both politically and in terms of our course and the capabilities of our industry, neither our policy nor our position on these missiles poses any threat to other states.

This is said by those who want to spoil Ukraine's image and present the picture that Ukraine wants to profit from this, that Ukraine is supposedly using nuclear weapons like a large stick to intimidate someone. Well, all of this is insinuations, insinuations which are based on forcing Ukraine to take a step against its interests.

But we will not do this, because we rely on the legislative basis, on international principles, including the Vienna Convention, incidentally, which fixes succession, and we will proceed resolutely along the course toward being a nonnuclear state, only—I repeat—we want the necessary steps to be taken for Ukraine both regarding its security and regarding assistance for it, and regarding certain guarantees. That is all; nothing else.

There are those who think that these nuclear weapons can be utilized to make some kind of, well, strike on some potential aggressor. I have already said that this is simply unrealistic from the technical point of view, but this is not the main thing. The main thing is that we have not set ourselves this task, we are not setting it, and we will not be setting it, and that this is a thread running through all of our documents, including the latest resolution by the Supreme Council, which I have just quoted to you.

Pavlychko Interviewed on Nuclear Arms, Black Sea Fleet

AU0108155893 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 31 Jul 93 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Dmytro Pavlychko, head of the Permanent Commission for International Affairs, by Burkhard Bischof; place and date not given: "We Do Not Follow the Directives of Other Nuclear Powers"]

[Text] [Bischof] Mr. Deputy, is Ukraine's territorial integrity endangered?

[Pavlychko] Yes, and the danger emanates from the decision of the Moscow parliament to declare the Ukrainian Black Sea port of Sevastopol Russian. As the Security Council stated, this decision not only contradicts the principles of the UN Statute, but also the Ukrainian-Russian Treaty of November 1990, which the Moscow parliament ratified.

It would be a bad example for Europe and the world if we started changing borders now. Russia again wants to play a geostrategic role. But its ambitions might have disastrous consequences, above all for Europe.

[Bischof] From your point of view, how should the conflict over Sevastopol and the Black Sea Fleet be resolved?

[Pavlychko] A territorial problem over Sevastopol or the Crimea does not exist for us and there will be no negotiations on that account. Sevastopol and the Crimea continue to be Ukrainian.

Regarding the Black Sea Fleet, a 50-50 division of the fleet was agreed upon in Yalta. President Yeltsin approved that, but parliamentary leader Khasbulatov and some of the Black Sea Fleet officers are against this agreement.

The best solution would be if the whole fleet were adjudicated to Ukraine because it operates from our territory. In such an event we would also be prepared to help solve all fleet problems. The Russians themselves admit that, as a matter of fact, a fleet cannot be divided. Even if we were to get the whole fleet, this would still be less than the share of the entire former USSR Navy that would be actually due to us.

[Bischof] But the solution does not seem to be realistic....

[Pavlychko] Yes, and therefore there is no getting around dividing the fleet. There is still the question of whether our parliament will ratify the division agreement. It is laid down in the Moscow agreement that the Russian part of the fleet and its military personnel will remain on Ukrainian territory. But it does not say for how long and what its status is. Therefore, I am against ratification of this agreement.

I would not mind either if the Russians were to take the whole fleet and sail to Vladivostok. Some of the ships are very old and will have to be scrapped in a few years.

[Bischof] Regarding nuclear policies: In early July the parliament virtually declared Ukraine a nuclear power, but at the same time professed support for the abolition of nuclear weapons. What, in fact, does the Kiev parliament support: nuclear power status or a nuclear-free Ukraine?

[Pavlychko] The parliament decided that Ukraine is currently the owner of nuclear weapons. Are we therefore a nuclear power? Yes and no. The parliament has not changed its mind that Ukraine should become a nuclear-free state; this is laid down in all its documents. On the other hand, the parliament now has to ratify the first treaty on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, the START I Treaty. That means that, as a party to the treaty, we are actually already a nuclear power.

We are still on the road to a nuclear-free state. But we are going our own way at our own rate and we do not follow the directives of other nuclear powers. We can only accede to the Nonproliferation Treaty if we get full guarantees for our territorial integrity from the other nuclear powers. There must be a multilateral treaty between Ukraine and the other nuclear powers.

The majority of parliamentary deputies are of the opinion that we cannot relinquish our nuclear weapons to Russia at present. That would not be in line with our national interests because Russia is claiming territory from Ukraine. It is no secret either that in our parliament there are people who are openly advocating that Ukraine continue to be a nuclear power. However, with the Sevastopol resolution, the Russian Parliament has brought about more than this entire nuclear question ever did. At any rate, the majority of Ukrainian people are now also in favor of keeping the nuclear weapons.

[Bischof] But Ukraine is virtually alone, after Belarus and Kazakhstan agreed to reduce their nuclear weapons.

[Pavlychko] The great difference between us and Kazakhstan and Belarus is that we built part of our nuclear weapons ourselves, for example, the 46 strategic SS-24 missiles. START 1 will also be ratified by us. There are only some open technical questions: Will we destroy them together with Russia or the United States? Will we transport them to Russia for scrap or will we do that on our own territory?

Last year, we handed our tactical nuclear weapons over to Russia. We did not get anything in exchange from Russia and nobody thanked us, that was hard to take. I personally believe that the 130 old SS-19 missiles produced by Russia will be destroyed in the course of the next seven or eight years in Ukraine.

[Bischof] And what will be done with the modern SS-24 missiles?

[Pavlychko] They will remain on Ukrainian territory until we have clear security guarantees and the Nonproliferation Treaty will be revised by 1995. The present treaty discriminates against Ukraine. We have control over these weapons and we will never sanction their use. They are, so to speak, dead weapons. At present, however, the strategic nuclear weapons help us to safeguard our territorial integrity.

[Bischof] Are Western reports that Ukrainian specialists are on the verge of "cracking" the nuclear codes for strategic nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory correct?

[Pavlychko] This is not true. Such reports are only published to put political pressure on us. We are not pursuing such a program. We are already in control of these nuclear missiles, so they cannot be launched—in concrete terms: that Russia can never use them. Of course, it would also be possible for us to build new nuclear weapons. But we do not want that, it would not be in line with our political interests.

Discusses START I, Nonproliferation Treaties

LD3107103193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1940 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Kiev—Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's Foreign Affairs Commission, stresses in a HOLOS UKRAYINY interview that the transfer of strategic nuclear weapons to Russia "would be a betrayal for which there is no justification." He reports that the opinion has developed in the Supreme Council that we should deal with these weapons in such a way that the Ukrainian people get some materiel benefit from this. Dmytro Pavlychko believes that Ukraine should turn the right to possess nuclear weapons into guarantees of its own national security. Speaking about the prospects of the Supreme Council's examination of the START I Treaty, the Lisbon Protocol, and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the commission chairman says that START I will probably be ratified in September or October this year. The ratification of the Lisbon Protocol is a lot more complicated, stresses the deputy. It can be ratified but without the fifth point, which says that Ukraine should accede to the treaty as a non-nuclear state. Ukraine has a partial [nepovnyy] nuclear status. Without it Ukraine would simply not be a part of the START I Treaty.

Dmytro Pavlychko believes that the 46 solid fuel missiles should remain on Ukrainian territory until the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is reviewed in 1995. But even after this, taking into account the complex process of destroying warheads and missiles, some part of the nuclear weapons would still remain on Ukrainian territory for some time, notes D. Pavlychko.

U.S., Russian Moratorium on Nuclear Testing Welcomed

LD3007205693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Ukraine welcomes the decision by the two largest nuclear states, the Russian Federation and the United States of America, on the extension of the validity of the moratorium on nuclear arms tests, the foreign political department of our state said in a statement on 30 July. The statement indicates that a refusal to carry out nuclear explosions will, undoubtedly, promote international peace and security. Thus, one of the most important ways of the military nuclear potential development and further improvement of nuclear weapons is actually being blocked, which enhances the process of so-called vertical non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Ukraine perceived with satisfaction the statement by the government of Great Britain on a positive attitude toward the issue of a complete ban on nuclear tests. These events testify to the seriousness of these countries' intentions to continue the process of nuclear disarmament. Ukraine hopes that its logical and consistent implementation will lead to a nuclear-free world.

Commentary Views Struggle for 'Nuclear Button' in Russia

AU3007154693 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 29 Jul 93 p 1

[Unattributed commentary: "Around the Nuclear Button"]

[Text] According to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, right after Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov was appointed secretary of the Security Council, Minister of Defense Pavel Grachev called him in and politely demanded that the "treasure case" be handed over. On the same day, a group of armed people came into the marshal's office and "expropriated" the nuclear button. Since then, Boris Yeltsin and Pavel Grachev have become the owners of the "weapons of revenge."

Confidential sources are hushing up information on who sanctioned this action. It is known that, at the decision by the Council of Heads of State, one of the "nuclear cases" was handed to the former commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. If it was removed with the knowledge of the president of the Russian Federation, but without any coordination with others, this may mean, among other things, that Russia has given up for lost both the creation of the Joint Armed Forces and the prospects of a commonwealth. On the other hand, if Boris Yeltsin had nothing to do with the action (which is most unlikely), then it must be admitted that the top brass are beginning to play an entirely independent role in politics. It may so happen that the Russian president of the times of the constitutional process is no more in control of the situation than was Gorbachev of the times of Novo-Ogarev.

Shaposhnikov himself commented upon the Defense Ministry's hasty actions thus: "The impression has arisen that the Russian Military Department was just waiting for a chance to deprive me of control over the Nuclear Forces."

It is known that the minister of defense and the secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council advocate dissimilar military and political doctrines. Grachev believes that the creation of national armies is a priority task, whereas Shaposhnikov is in favor of CIS Joint Armed Forces. Hence the sometimes dissimilar ideas about who should hold the nuclear button. However, it looks as though the dispute is no longer purely academic.

Foreign Policy, Nuclear Arms Policy Viewed

MK3007113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Jul 93 pp 1, 3

[Igor Grushko, Vladimir Skachko report under "Ukraine" rubric: "Kiev Ready To Ratify START I. But It Will Keep Part of Nuclear Weapons"—article incorporates interview with Dmytro Pavlychko, an author of Ukraine's foreign policy guidelines]

[Excerpts] As reported earlier, the Ukrainian parliament has approved the main lines of Ukraine's foreign policy, proclaiming that it "conducts an open foreign policy and seeks collaboration with all interested partners, avoiding dependence on particular states of groups of states." The following are mentioned among the main tasks of Ukrainian foreign policy: assertion and development of Ukraine as an independent democratic state; insurance of the stability of Ukraine's international position; preservation of territorial integrity of the state and inviolability of its borders; integrating the national economy into the world economic system to ensure its full-fledged economic development and raising people's well-being; protection of the rights and interests of Ukrainian citizens and its legal entities abroad; and the provision of conditions to maintain contacts with Ukrainians living abroad and with people of Ukrainian origin, and so forth. This policy will be implemented based on universally recognized principles, including voluntary participation, mutual respect, equality, mutual advantage, and noninterference in internal affairs. In addition, the document says: "Ukraine is not an enemy of any state. It unconditionally condemns war as an instrument of national policy and adheres to the principles of the nonuse of force or threat of force, and seeks to resolve any international dispute only by peaceful means. We do not make any territorial claims on our neighbors, just as we do not recognize any territorial claims made on ourselves."

Ukraine is going to collaborate on bilateral, regional, subregional, and global levels, dividing world countries into four subgroups on the principle of territorial proximity and importance of partnership: bordering states and west European states, geographically close states, and the other states of the two Americas, Asia, Africa and the Asia Pacific Rim. The document states that by virtue of the existing historical, political, and economic circumstances the "dominant factor in bilateral relations with the bordering states are Ukrainian-Russian relations."

The document adopted enshrines the evolution of principles of neutrality, nonaffiliation with any blocs, and the nonnuclear status that has resulted after their proclamation in the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine in summer 1990. In particular the main guidelines provide that "the drastic changes that have occurred after the disintegration of the USSR and that have conditioned Ukraine's present geopolitical situation, and the intentions proclaimed in its time to become a neutral state not associated with any bloc must be adjusted to the new reality and cannot be seen as an obstacle to its full-scale participation in the all-European security structure."

Concerning strategic nuclear arsenals, the document says: "Having become, by virtue of historical circumstances, an owner of the nuclear weapons inherited from the former USSR, Ukraine will never authorize their use, and it withdraws the threat of using them from the arsenal of its foreign policy."

At the same time, the document reaffirms Ukraine's aspiration to become a nonnuclear state in the future, but "the reduction and destruction of nuclear weapons located on its territory is linked by Ukraine with the extension to it by the nuclear states and the world community of safe national security guarantees." '

As often happens, however, under pressure of circumstances, actual policy differs somewhat from the intentions proclaimed. This in particular becomes obvious from an interview with Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's standing deputies commission and an author of Ukraine's main foreign policy guidelines. Dmitro Pavlychko recently returned from the Balkans where he visited all areas with the exception of Montenegro and attended the scheduled replacement of the Ukrainian battalion as part of the UN peacekeeping forces. [passage omitted]

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] What is the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's commission on international affairs currently working on?

[Pavlychko] It is dealing with current affairs. Chinese parliamentarians will soon come to Kiev. We are making preparations for talks with them. We are studying a whole package of international conventions and documents, which will soon be presented for Supreme Soviet consideration. In addition, the commission is discussing UN sanctions against the former Yugoslavia—sanctions which have not brought any results but have caused Ukraine to lose billions of dollars already. And not only Ukraine. Therefore we would like to initiate a conference of states from the Danube area in order finally to raise before the United Nations the question of lifting the sanctions. After its trip to the Balkans the commission will be working on three fundamental documents: on our relations with countries in this regions, on the Ukrainian battalion, and on Ukrainians living in Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia. Incidentally, recently I had a meeting with Leonid Kravchuk who had signed a corresponding document on our country's recognizing the Republic of Macedonia. In my opinion, however, the most important achievement accomplished by our commission in the recent period has been the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's adoption of a decree on the decision of Russian parliamentarians on the status of Sevastopol. In spite of the fact that various political forces are represented in our commission—over which, incidentally, we often become target of attacks, big and small—we have proved capable of preparing such an important document.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] And what do you think about the fact that the UN Security Council has unconditionally ruled invalid the Russian Federation parliament's decision on Sevastopol?

[Pavlychko] This is an outstanding event. For the first time Ukraine has received the support of the entire world and this support must be used expertly. We should not simply rejoice and applaud the Security Council—we need to understand: Such support by the world community obliges the president and the government of Ukraine to do everything to prevent provocative actions in Crimea. In this respect Leonid Kravchuk's meeting with Boris Yeltsin will be very timely. There are options for resolving the issue of the Black Sea Fleet, and they must be sought. Yet there can be no question about Sevastopol's having a Russian status. In this event Ukraine will have an advantage since it has the backing of the entire world community.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] When do you think the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet will return to the consideration of the START I Treaty, the Lisbon Protocol, and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty?

[Pavlychko] Apparently in September or October. The START I Treaty will be ratified, I have no doubt. Moreover, we will probably adopt a decision to destroy not just 50 missiles, as Ukraine must under the START I Treaty, but the entire 130. These are tactical liquid-fuel missiles. Before such a decision is made, however, it is necessary to straighten out finally a number of important problems. In particular, to define how the warheads are to be dismantled and with whom this should be done—the Russians or the Americans—and whether after dismantling it is necessary to ship the warheads back to Russia, or with U.S. assistance to build an appropriate facility. Furthermore, we should decide who will be financing this complicated and very expensive project.

Concerning Ukraine's acceding to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and the ratification of the Lisbon Protocol, this question is much more difficult. The protocol can and must be ratified but without Point 5, which says that Ukraine must immediately accede to this treaty as a nonnuclear state. Our country, however, having inherited nuclear weapons, at present has, I would say, an incomplete nuclear status. Without this status we would not have been party to START I. But if we ratify START I, we will not be able to join the Lisbon Protocol as a nonnuclear state. As you can see, those who prepared the documents made many inaccuracies. And we shall have to straighten all this out in our qualifications. In my opinion, the 46 solid-fuel missiles must reman in Ukraine until in 1995, when as planned, the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is revised. But even after that, taking into account the complicated process of the destruction of warheads and missiles, some part of the nuclear weapons will still remain in our territory.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] In other words, we are not as yet going to give up the nuclear strategic weapons to Russia, as we have done with tactical weapons?

[Pavlychko] Parliament is beginning to understand that we must at any price dispose of the nuclear weapons in such a way that the Ukrainian people should derive a certain material benefit. This is first. Second, we should convert the right to possess nuclear weapons into guarantees of our national security, into corresponding documents whereby other states will recognize Ukraine's territorial integrity, assuming obligations not to use force against us and protecting us in the event of any aggression. Otherwise it would be unpardonable treachery to cede nuclear weapons to a country having territorial claims on us.

Foreign Ministry Collegium Discusses Guidelines

LD3007214593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] On 30 July, the Collegium of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry held an extended session to consider the issue of the work of the ministry done to put into effect the guidelines of Ukraine's foreign policy as approved by the Supreme Council of Ukraine on 2 July 1993.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko made a report. After a detailed discussion, a decision was made aimed at consolidating the achievements of sovereign Ukraine on the international scene; creating a positive image of our state; stepping up work done to coordinate the activities of the ministries, departments, and establishments in the sphere of foreign relations; establishing a system of training, retraining, and improving the qualifications of diplomatic personnel; and elaborating a state program for developing Ukraine's information presence [informatsiyna prysutnist] abroad.

Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk delivered a long speech at the collegium. Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma; Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and chiefs of ministerial boards and departments took part in the collegium session.

Morozov Claims U.S. Trip Laid 'Basis for Stable Relations'

LD3107174893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Ukraine's Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov returned to Kiev from Washington today. In the course of his official visit he had a whole series of meetings with the top-ranking officials of the Pentagon, State Department, and the National Security Council. A memorandum on mutual understanding between the military departments of the two countries was signed, something which the United States of America had never before achieved with the other CIS member states. According to the Ukrainian press service, Morozov believes that the current negotiations lay down a basis for stable relations in military sphere between Ukraine and the United States. On 2 August Morozov will hold a news conference to discuss his visit.

Ambassador To Israel Praises Release of Demjanjuk

LD3007165893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Statement by Yuriy Shcherbak, Ukraine's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the State of Israel on 29 July in Tel Aviv]

[Text] In connection with the decision by the Supreme Court of Israel of 29 July 1993 concerning the release of John Demjanjuk I state:

We highly assess this courageous decision as a confirmation of independence, responsibility, and impartiality of the Supreme Court of Israel. I would like to stress that on the Ukrainian side there were no attempts of any interference or political pressure on the independent judicial bodies of Israel that were considering John Demjanjuk's case. We believe that this decision will help overcome negative stereotyped opinions formed as a result of the tragic events of World War II. I hope that the case of John Demjnjuk will not be used to fan up anti-Ukrainian and anti-Semite sentiments.

On its part Ukraine's embassy in the State of Israel will do everything it can to develop friendly relations and all-round cooperation between Ukraine and Israel. In connection with the decision on the deportation of John Demjanjuk, I report that in case John Demjanjuk appeals with a request to let him stay in Ukraine temporarily, his appeal will be considered with due attention by relevant bodies in compliance with the current legislation of Ukraine, and with regard to international legal norms.

At the same time, I would like to underline that Ukraine's principled stand concerning the search, prosecution, and punishment of Nazi criminals remains unchanged and these crimes, according to Ukraine's legislation, have no statute of limitations.

[Dated] Tel-Aviv, 29 July 1993.

Demjanjuk Seeks Asylum

LD3107085193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] We have already reported that John Demjanjuk, who was sentenced to death in Israel for crimes committed during World War II, was acquitted by Israel's Supreme Court due to insufficient evidence.

It has become known that Demjanjuk now intends to seek asylum in his homeland, Ukraine. A councillor of the Ukrainian Embassy in Tel Aviv has announced that Demjanjuk's son has asked for his father to be given temporary asylum. The councillor noted that if a written application is submitted to the embassy, then such asylum could be granted to Demjanjuk, who was born in Ukraine, and he would be able to live there indefinitely, even without receiving citizenship.

Meanwhile, Demjanjuk continues to hope that the U.S. authorities, who in 1981 deprived him of his U.S. citizenship, will permit him to return to the United States.

Well, after the name of Stepan Bandera, the notorious leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, was rehabilitated—and even canonized on the territory of Ukraine—no one would be surprised by the fact that this old war criminal, the former operator of gas chambers in the fascist death camp of Treblinka, will live in that country.

Granted Entry Visa; Departure Postponed

LD0108161893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] The Russian agency ITAR-TASS has reported from Tel Aviv that John Demjanjuk is expected to fly to Kiev on an aircraft of the Ukrainian airline in the second half of the day. Last week the Israeli Supreme Court passed a resolution that abolished the death sentence because of the absence of evidence regarding the accusation of crimes against humanity during World War II. Today a correspondent from Novyny radio agency telephoned Tel Aviv. As a representative of the Ukrainian Embassy in Israeli said, John Demjanjuk has already received a private entry visa for a period of 90 days because he has invitations from relatives in Kharkov oblast and from a Ukrainian lawyer.

He should have departed for Kiev, but according to Israeli radio his departure has been postponed for 10 days. This is connected with the fact that the deportation order for John Demjanjuk should once again be confirmed by the Israeli Supreme Court of Justice.

Foreign Ministry Calls For Stopping Israeli Action in Lebanon

LD3107214593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] On 31 July Ukraine's Foreign Ministry made public a statement of the following contents:

In Ukraine they follow the latest developments in Lebanon with deep anxiety. The bombing by the Israeli air force resulted in casualties among civilians and inflicted wounds on the servicemen of the Nepalese battalion of the UN peace-keeping force stationed in that country. Our state, the statement emphasizes, comes out for stopping the dangerous developments in Lebanon and around it. Besides, it proceeds from the fact that all problems existing among states should be tackled by peaceful means only, on the basis of the universally acknowledged principles and norms of the international law.

Troops Reportedly Sent to Crimea To Defend Sevastopol

LD3107225293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] ITAR-TASS reports that 400 Ukrainian servicemen who had arrived in Crimea to gather the harvest were told that they had come to defend Sevastopol and to take part in the possible relief [deblokada] of the forces of the Black Sea Fleet.

Defense Ministry Denies Report

LD3107230593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] The press service of the Defense Ministry has blamed the ITAR-TASS agency for another effort to increase tensions around Sevastopol and the Crimea. On 31 July, Moscow journalists reported the alleged concentration of Ukrainian troops in the area, thus misinforming the public. Those who circulated this misinformation backed it up by the fact that 400 Ukrainian servicemen arrived in Feodosiya from Krivoy Rog and were allegedly assigned to help gather in the harvest. The free interpretation by ITAR-TASS boiled down to the fact that this subunit was allegedly to take part in unblocking the Black Sea Fleet.

Regarding this report, the press service states that the cited group of Ukrainian servicemen—whose numerical strength is half as large as reported—arrived in Feodosiya one week ago with the task of carrying out periodic servicing. The group will service military hardware under long-term preservation. Regarding the servicemen helping farmers, there was no such invitation at all.

National Guard Denies Troop Movements

LD3007210393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Now here is a bit of information sent to the Ukrainian Radio World Service by the press service of the commander of the National Guards of Ukraine.

On 29 July, the Moscow-based radio station Roks transmitted misinformation by the INTERFAX agency to the effect that the soldiers of the National Guards of Ukraine, mainly the natives of the western regions of Ukraine, were allegedly moving in the direction of Sevastopol.

The press service of the commander of the National Guards of Ukraine disproved this bit of information as such that in no way corresponds to the real state of affairs. Not a single subunit of the Guards was ever formed in Sevastopol. Moreover, none of the National Guards soldiers was ever dispatched to that city. All the National Guards units are in their permanent deployment points. Probably there are some people who benefit from misinforming the public so as to justify illegal actions in relation to the Crimea.

[Signed] Guards Lieutenant Colonel Volodymyr Korkodym, chief of the press service of the commander of the National Guards of Ukraine

Naval Officers Protest Fleet's Subordination to Russia

LD0108114693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0715 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Sevastopol, 31 Jul—The Council of Naval Officers of Ukraine circulated an open letter to the presidents of Ukraine and the Russian Federation. The letter indicates that despite the Yalta agreement on the subordination of the Black Sea Fleet to the presidents of Ukraine and Russia, the fleet actually fulfills the orders of Russia's defense minister and the commander of the Russian Federation Navy.

The letter says that "On certain ships of the Black Sea Fleet the citizens of Ukraine are forced to serve under the flags of the Russian Federation. Despite the Yalta agreements the training units of the Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation failed to train even a single active service specialist, petty officer or warrant officer for the naval forces of Ukraine at a time when the majority of the graduates of these educational establishments are being trained for the Russian Federation. The naval forces of Ukraine are short of communication and observation facilities, there are no berths for the Ukrainian ships."

The Council of Naval Officers of Ukraine demands that the presidents of Ukraine and the Russian Federation make a decision "with the indication of the terms, mechanisms, and responsible persons" on the division of the Black Sea Fleet and on the status of the Russian Federation ships that remain temporarily "for which definite period of time and under which conditions" at the Ukrainian bases and also the issue on providing these ships with shore-based facilities. The Black Sea Fleet units that are subordinated to the Russian Federation and do not need naval stationing points (infantry, aviation, etc.) must be withdrawn beyond the borders of Ukraine.

Pro-Russian Rally Held in Simferopol; Resolution Adopted

LD3107194293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1926 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Lev Ryabchikov for TASS]

[Text] Simferopol July 31 TASS—Various banners, ranging from the St. Andrew flag (the traditional flag of the Russian Navy) to the red communist flags, could be seen today at the Central Square of Simferopol, outside the monument to Lenin. A rally was held there on the initiative of the Russian party, the Republican Movement and some other public movements of the Crimea. Its participants demanded that the parliament of the republic convene urgently an extraordinary session for putting into effect immediately the open economy regime, which will include the elimination of the customs, the return to the rouble zone, the opening of a republican bank, tough control over price formation, the introduction of food rationing for the period of overcoming the crisis and the adoption of the programme of urgent aid to people in the low income bracket.

Participants in the rally urged the Crimean Parliament to denounce the economic policy of the Ukrainian leadership. A resolution adopted by the rally included some political demands, specifically, the lifting of a moratorium on the referendum about the official status of the Crimea, the withdrawal of all special army units and military hardware from the peninsula, the cancellation of all resolutions on the division of the Black Sea Fleet and the beginning of talks between Russia, Ukraine and the Crimea about the status of the republic and of Sevastopol. The proposal of the Russian-speaking Movement of the Crimea to hold a general political strike was supported by the rally.

Rally in Sevastopol

LD3107205493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] The rhythm of Sevastopol's day off was once again today, disrupted by emotions running high at a rally organized by a number of political movements of openly pro-Russian orientation. It gathered around a thousand of their activists in one of the central squares.

Radio Ukraine correspondent Anatoliy Polonskyy reports that the character of speeches at the rally was overtly anti-Ukrainian. Participants in the rally approved of the Russian Supreme Soviet's resolution on the Russian status of Sevastopol, demanding that the moratorium on a referendum on the independence of the Crimea should be lifted. Those attending the rally also appealed for early reelections to the autonomous parliament to be held.

Sevastopol Favors Russian Status

LD0108092793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] The collection of signatures of residents in favor of giving the city Russian status continues in Sevastopol. According to EKSPRESS KHRONIKA, about 30,000 signatures have been collected already. In addition, about 6,000 signatures have been collected under an address to the president and the Supreme Soviet of Russia with a request to include an article consolidating the Russian status of Sevastopol in the new Russian constitution.

Sailors Mutiny Over Non-Payment of Wages

LD0208081693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 2 Aug 93

[Text] The Egyptian authorities have reported that the sailors of the Ukrainian ship SOVETSKAYA UKRAINA, which is in Alexandria, have mutinied and seized the ship, demanding payment of their wages for the previous months. It is not known how much money the steamship-line management owes the sailors, but AL-AKHBAR reports that if the Ukrainian side does not manage to pay the sailors their wages the vessel SOVETSKAYA UKRAINA will be sold and the money obtained will be used to pay off the debt to the sailors.

Russian Bank Decision Not To Affect Payments With Ukraine

LD3007155693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian Central Bank's decision to replace old money will have no effect on the nature of reciprocal settlements between Ukraine and Russia. This was stated by Stelmakh, head of the Ukrainian National Bank. He said that Russia had agreed to accept from Ukraine the cash it was holding as of 24 July this year. This cash amounts to 12 billion rubles.

But as far as concerns Ukrainian citizens, their rubles will not be exchanged for karbovantsy, since Ukraine left the ruble zone long ago, Stelmakh stressed.

Banks To Exchange Old Rubles for Karbovantsi

LD3107182593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1830 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Kiev—Ukraine's commercial banks are to begin to exchange Russian bank notes of the pre-1993 type for karbovantsi for all residents of the ruble zone, who are staying in Ukraine. The maximum sum for exchange, according to preliminary assessments, is 200,000 karbovantsi. In accordance with a telegram from Russia's Central Bank, its promise to accept 12 billion rubles from the National Bank of Ukraine has been borne out. V. Stelmakh, acting chairman of the board of the National Bank, informed a UNIAN correspondent of this. The acceptance of rubles from citizens of Ukraine by commercial banks or the National Bank is not going to be conducted.

Romania Seen as 'Probable' Enemy for Military Maneuvers

WS3007111493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1946 GMT 28 Jul 93

[Text] Kiev—As it has become known from well informed sources, Ukrainian Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov advised that Russia, Moldova, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Turkey, with whom Ukraine has signed military cooperation agreements, not be regarded as probable enemies during the Ukrainian Armed Forces maneuvers (which will be held in the vicinity of Nikolayev, as UNIAN informed before), scheduled for 3-7 August. Romania is the only exception among the neighboring countries, so the "arrows" of Ukrainian strategists will be aimed at it.

No State Regarded as 'Likely Enemy'

LD3007172093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 30 Jul—The Ukrainian Armed Forces plans to hold military exercises on the territory of Odessa military district from 3-7 August. In view of this, certain mass media have expressed the opinion that "Ukrainian strategists will be directing their attention towards Romania".

A statement released today by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry press service notes that this interpretation of the fact is far removed from reality. The purpose of the forthcoming command and staff training is to work through plans for the training of control agencies and their interaction. No state is regarded as a likely enemy, and this includes those having common borders with Ukraine, the statement by the Defense Ministry press service emphasizes.

Foreign Ministry 'Welcomes' Georgian, Abkhaz Accord

LD3107210193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Ukraine's Foreign Ministry welcomes the intention of the Georgian and Abkhazian sides to find ways to halting the bloody confrontation. Within this context, our state perceives with satisfaction the achieved agreement on the beginning of negotiations at the level of expert groups and wishes them success in achieving the goal they set. This was reported by the press center of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Issues Order on State Support to Press

LD3007212393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk issued an order on measures to render state assistance to the press. It obliges the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers to consider the issue of partial reimbursement in the second half of 1993 of the costs incurred by the editorial boards of newspapers and magazines and on setting regulated prices for [word indistinct]. A draft state program of developing book printing and the press will be elaborated for a period up to the year 2000. It is planned that a proposal to enter the leading publishing houses and state [word indistinct] on the list of the state property objects that are not subject to privatization will be submitted for the consideration of the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

Crimean Tatars Criticize Ukrainian Government

MK3107113093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilat report under "Crimea" rubric: "Radical Views Hold Sway at Kurultay. Ukraine Called a Colonial State"]

[Excerpts] It was expected that the Second Kurultay [assembly] of the Crimean Tatar People would end its session on 30 July, the fourth day of the forum, or on 31 July at the latest. Refat Chubarov, deputy chairman of the Crimean Tatar People's Majlis, told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent on 30 July, however, that "by all appearances, we will have to work on 1 August as well." [passage omitted]

Ilmi Umerov, delegate from Bakhchisaray Rayon, said: "Communists have been out of power for two years already, Ukraine is a sovereign state, but the life of the Crimean Tatar people has not changed." The delegates understand that Ukraine lacks money to give aid to Crimean Tatars, but they cannot grasp why Ukraine does not recognize the Crimean Tatars's right to self-determination, or the elected representative body of the Crimea Tatars, the Majlis. Why does Ukraine reject the possibility of getting sufficient financing for the Crimean Tatars from abroad? The Majlis has reached agreements in principle with a number of states on the subject. [passage omitted]

It was emphasized at the kurultay that, while voting for Ukraine's independence in December 1991, Crimean Tatars voted for the freedom of the Ukrainian people, for their rebirth on their land, "but it turned out that we voted for new oppressors, for a new tyranny over the Crimean Tatars." Ilmi Umerov said: "The current Russian state, the current Ukrainian state, and the current Crimean administration—are all splinters of one political system, the Russian empire. Today's Ukraine is a colonial state both in essence and in form. As long as the problem of the Crimean Tatars lingers on, until a national-territorial state entity is reestablished on the basis of the realization of the Crimean Tatar people's right to self-determination, Ukraine will remain a colonial state."

Future of Reorganized Air Force Debated

WS3007134793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1442 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Kiev—Discussion on the realization of President Leonid Kravchuk's decree on uniting the Air Force and the Antiaircraft Defense in one Airspace Defense Force [ADF] opened in the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. The appointed ADF commander, General Lieutenant Volodymyr Antonets, insists that the existing structures should be reformed and a unified headquarters of the new military establishment and divisions should be created. On the other hand, General Colonel Anatoliy Lopata, head of the Armed Forces' General Headquarters, believes that it is dangerous to overthrow the old structures in today's difficult economic situation. As a UNIAN correspondent learned, the ADF commander delivered a report to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, in which he informs Kostyantyn Morozov that the military leaders sabotaged his decrees.

Officers Union Expresses Distrust of Security Service

AU3007150993 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian no. 29 (110), Jul 93 p 1

[Report by NARODNA HAZETA unidentified special correspondent: "Not All Is Well in the Security Service"]

[Text] The Executive Committee of Ukraine's Officers Union [SOU] has turned to President Kravchuk and Supreme Council Chairman Plyushch with a proposal to create a commission for studying the activity of Ukraine's Security Service. The SOU leadership recalls that the fourth congress of the union also made a statement on the unsatisfactory performance of the Security Service and pointed out that the key positions in it are occupied by officers who actively opposed our state's national revival. The SOU now demands that the Security Service Military Counterintelligence be placed directly under the supervision of President Kravchuk, commander in chief of Ukraine's Armed Forces, and Defense Minister Morozov, and also expresses its distrust of Security Service Generals H. Fedyayev, V. Rumyantsev, P. Cherniy, colonels V. Kuzmin, A. Rudenko, M. Prokhorov, I. Shyrokostup, and V. Zhuravlyov.

Zaporozhye AES Unit Shut Down Twice

LD3107084793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] The Zaporozhye nuclear electric power station [AES] information center reports on the unusual situation at the station. It has been caused by the fact that on 28 July, because of mistaken actions by the staff, the first power unit was disconnected from the network. Following preventive testing, its equipment was switched on again. However, on 30 July it was automatically disconnected from the network, again for technical reasons. These events, according to specialists, do not affect the safety of the station's work or the environment. The radiation situation is within (?the norm).

Rovno Nuclear Station To Store Radioactive Waste

LD3107194493 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1248 GMT 31 Jul

[Text] [no dateline as received] The Rovno nuclear power plant's capabilities for the storage of used nuclear fuel have increased, helped by the renovated cooling pond. As a result of renovation, its capacity will facilitate the storage of burned-out fuel assemblies next year.

"In connection with the notorious resolution by the Russian legislature on the inadmissibility of transporting radioactive waste from other states across its territory, we were faced with a tough problem," said the station's chief engineer, Mykola Fridman.

"I am sure that an understanding will be reached on that some time in the future. However, we are taking measures to insure ourselves by way of employing novel technologies. At the third generating set, systems have started operating for the first time in Ukraine, which utilize waste by the bituminization method. Incidentally, this is the only method used at Japanese nuclear power plants, hiding the harmful remainder of nuclear production in a specially prepared mass of bitumen. Radioactive substances, with their safe life over, will be fed from generating sets to a kind of unit rendering them harmless, through a reliable trestle, its assembly about to be completed."

League of Entrepreneurs, Industrialists Set Up in Lvov

LD0108134293 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0715 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Lvov, 31 Jul—A branch of the Ukrainian League of Entrepreneurs and Industrialists has been set up. The joint-stock society "Ukrahrobiznes" [Ukrainian agricultural business], west Ukrainian joint-stock society "Zemelnyy Tsentr" [agrarian center], and joint venture "Fermer" [farmer], among others, joined the Lvov branch of the league. Vladyslav Poroshyn, president of the "Zemelnyy Tsentr" society, was elected head of the branch.

Space Center To Be Created in Kharkov

AU3007195693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 29 Jul 93 p 4

[Report by Olha Drozdova from Kharkiv Oblast: "Space is a Profitable Business"]

[Text] A regional center for earth observation from space is being created in Kharkov. It is one of the five such centers in Ukraine. Space is a sphere of activity that is now earning space powers huge profits. Unfortunately, today, others are gaining these profits, whereas Ukraine could also benefit from them, pointed out Lieutenant General V. Tolubko, chief of the Kharkov Garrison and Ukraine's people's deputy.

Nationalist Group Protests Registration Ban

LD0108140593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0715 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Kiev, 31 Jul—Commenting on a ban on the registration of the Ukrainian National Self-Defense [UNSO] at the Ukraine Ministry of Justice, the commander of the Kiev regional team Serhiy Hrinchuk explained it as follows: "There has long been an opposition between the National Self-Defense and the authorities and this opposition will continue to exist as long as the current authorities are becoming ever more corrupt. We believe that the existing authorities should be replaced immediately because the patience of the people, driven to despair, will finally come to an end. Sooner or later there will be an outbreak, a revolutionary situation and then, as now, the main objective of the Ukrainian National Self-Defense will be to defend Ukrainian statehood."

Belarus

Shushkevich Hands Clinton Nuclear Treaty Document

WS3007104593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] During his visit to the United States, Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich handed over a document to U.S. President Bill Clinton on Belarus joining the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. This document was signed simultaneously in Moscow, Washington, and London on 1 July 1968. Concurrently, in Minsk, the document with the same text was handed to (John Everard), charge d'affaires of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to Belarus, by Belarusian Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Danilenko. In Moscow, the document was handed to Anatoliy Adamishin, first deputy foreign minister of Russia, by Belarusian Ambassador to Russia Viktor Danilenko. The Governments of the United States, Russia, and Great Britain and Northern Ireland are depositories of this document.

Officials Interviewed on Visit to U.S.

WS0208083093 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 24 Jul 93 pp 1,2

[Interviews with First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikovich, Chairman of the Legislative Commission Uladzimir Harkun, Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy, and Chairman of the State Security Committee Eduard Shirkovskiy by newspaper correspondent Uladzimir Narkevich; place and date not given: "United States Is Discovering Belarus"]

[Text] On 22 July, U.S. President Bill Clinton received Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, the first of the leaders of the former USSR states to visit the White House in Washington. Immediately after the talk with the U.S. President, Stanislav Shushkevich said to the journalists: "We have discussed bilateral U.S.-Belarusian relations. I was pleased that the consistent Belarusian policy was highly assessed by the President. I was also pleased to learn that our good neighbor relations with Russia correspond to the interests of the United States.

A joint declaration on bilateral U.S.-Belarusian relations was adopted. Stanislav Shushkevich has invited Bill Clinton to visit Belarus.

Next, I asked First Deputy Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikovich to discuss his impressions of the U.S.-Belarusian talks.

[Myasnikovich] Judging by the results of the talks, we can hold out hope that the relations not only between Belarus and the United States, but also between Belarus and other countries of the world will improve to a great extent. I am satisfied with the talks with the U.S. secretary of treasury and other leaders of the U.S. administration. We have just completed talks with the IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus. The IMF management has given us certain guarantees for pursuing our economic program, the details of which are going to be discussed at the IMF board on 28 July. We had a meeting with the management of the World Bank and got certain guarantees supporting the reforms that we are going to carry out in our Republic. I would like to note that the U.S. party is not well informed about the current economic situation in Belarus. Therefore, the talks that we have conducted will help the U.S. departments and the world community to better understand the situation in which the economic reforms are being implemented in Belarus.

I would like to comment on some specific agreements with the U.S. Department of Agriculture. They have supported many of our proposals—on grain and soya beans deliveries in 1993-1994. The minimum sum of deliveries is about $15 million. By the way, the price is very low, so, we can consider these deliveries to be a kind of humanitarian aid. Some 50,000 tonnes of grain and soya beans will be delivered. The relations between the agricultural departments of our countries will develop.

[Narkevich] What about the credits for our economy?

[Myasnikovich] This issue has two aspects. First, we are entering the international arena, people are discovering that our state exists. This cannot be measured in credits. Second, we have not come to the United States for help. We state: We are ready to cooperate. It seems to me that the world community understands us and all those temporary difficulties that our economy is currently experiencing. The business circles are discussing means of helping us in this period of reform. I hope that the time will come when we will not need any aid.

[Narkevich] What would you say to those people who claim that the economic aid is closely connected with the issue of the nonnuclear status of Belarus and that when all the nuclear missiles are withdrawn from our territory, we will not get this aid?

[Myasnikovich] The World Bank and the IMF did not raise these conditions. During the U.S.-Belarusian talks, representatives of the U.S. administration stressed that they supported Belarusian foreign policy, the Belarusian political course for acquiring the status of a neutral and nonnuclear state, and this course was the basis for the bilateral talks. The three issues—economic, political, and military—are interrelated. The Pentagon's representatives in the U.S. Congress are also stressing this idea. They approve of our initiatives on the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from our territory.

The next issue is investments. We will achieve some results in this sphere too. I have concluded that we should knock on the doors more insistently. The world community appreciates the fact that a new country, which is pursuing an independent policy, sticks to definite obligations.

[Harkun] I would like to add that the talks were devoted not only to the grain deliveries, but also to cooperation in the sphere of processing agricultural production.

The military issues were among the most important issues that were discussed at the U.S.-Belarusian talks. This is what Belarusian Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy told me:

[Kozlovskiy] Today we have signed three agreements between the U.S. Department for Defense and the Belarusian Defense Ministry. We have signed agreements for the sum of $59 million (including the 1992 agreements, for the sum of $68.5 million). In addition, we have worked out a memorandum on mutual understanding and cooperation on the issues of military and defense sovereignty between the U.S. Department for Defense and the Belarusian Defense Ministry. We did not manage to sign it because some legal settlements have to be made. If we do not manage to sign this document tomorrow, I am going to pay an official visit to the United States in the fall and, it goes without saying, we will sign this document then. We will send our officers for training and exchange delegations.

I would like to comment on the expert control. Special equipment will be installed at the Belarusian customs posts and border guard outposts. This equipment will prevent the smuggling of nuclear components from or to the Belarusian territory. The 1992 agreement on the installation of a hot line has been almost fulfilled. The U.S. equipment has already been installed in the National Center for Control and Inspection. The hot line will be put into operation on 31 August.

[Narkevich] Will the signed agreements speed up the process of withdrawal of nuclear weapons from our territory?

[Kozlovskiy] I would not put the issue this way. The agreements do not foresee the speeding up of the withdrawal process, but anticipate nuclear security—the security of keeping the nuclear weapons on our territory and of their withdrawal. We have agreed on the terms of the withdrawal of the nuclear weapons with Russia. This our own affair. In my opinion, we can complete the withdrawal process in 1996.

Chairman of the State Security Committee Eduard Shirkovskiy gave me an interview.

[Shirkovskiy] On 21-22 July, I met with the representatives of the U.S. intelligence service. Yesterday, I met with the FBI board, today—with the CIA board, its director and other officials. I had a meeting with the U.S. experts, who provide the U.S. security work. They shared with me their experience. We have discussed many issues of U.S. and Belarusian security. The talks were held constructively and with positive results for both parties. In my opinion, all these contacts will be developed in the future and will be fruitful for the two countries.

U.S. Intelligence Services To Help Combat Terrorism

WS3007135093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Belarusian and U.S. intelligence services have agreed to mutually cooperate in combating international terrorism, organized crime, and drug trafficking. According to Eduard Shirkovskiy, chairman of the Belarusian Committee for State Security, all this became possible after a high-level Belarusian delegation headed by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich had paid an official visit to the United States. During the visit, the chairman of the Belarusian Committee for State Security met with the representatives of the CIA and FBI.

Australia's Evans Hails Republic's Nonnuclear Efforts

WS3007135493 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans hailed Belarus' decision to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Belarus has confirmed its strong support for the treaty and its significance for international security, the minister stressed. Mr. Evans called on Kazakhstan and Ukraine, which have also signed the Lisbon Protocol, to adhere to their obligations and join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as nonnuclear states.

Ukrainian Procurator General Stresses Cooperation

LD3007170493 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Excerpts] In Minsk, Viktor Shyshkin, the procurator general of the Ukraine, and Vasil Shaladonaw, the procurator general of Belarus, have signed an agreement on legal aid and cooperation between the prosecution services of Belarus and Ukraine. Vasil Shaladonaw stressed that the Belarusian procuracy has already signed similar agreements with colleagues in Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Moldova. It is in all our interests, he said, to strengthen legal ties between all the sovereign republics of the CIS and to give citizens a firm guarantee that they will be protected by the law in all parts of the former Union.

Bank Chairman Complains of Russia's Actions Over Ruble

LD3007195693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1800 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Yesterday, a news conference took place at the republic's National Bank, during which Stanislaw Bagdankevich, chairman of its board, made a statement and answered correspondents questions. The news conference concerned the decision of the Central Bank of Russia on withdrawal from circulation on the territory of

Russia of Soviet money and banknotes of the Bank of Russia issued between 1961-1992. Yesterday, Stanislaw Bagdankevich made an appearance on national television. Here are some details from the news conference and the speech by the republic's top banker:

For Belarus, such a step by Russia was an unpleasant surprise. On the eve of that action, Belarus had received from Moscow large sums of the old type money in cash to the tune of R [ruble] 10 billion. Literally just before the exchange we were given old junk. I believed that I was addressing friends when I asked for rubles, Stanislaw Bagdankevich sort of justified himself. Our financial officials have managed not to pay for the cash and will try to send it back. According to the appraisals of observers, this incident is a vivid illustration of the attitude of Moscow to the interests of Belarus. The Central Bank of Russia does not reply to the telegrams of the republic's National Bank; it is silent. As for the citizens of our republic, the treacherous financial blow of Russia was somehow softened because wages and pensions have already for a long time been paid to the residents in payment notes of the National Bank. The exchange of the old Russian rubles for payment notes of the National Bank of the republic will last until 7 August. [passage omitted]

We have promised Russian cash to persons leaving on business trips and holidays, but it is unknown whether this will really happen. Therefore, the Russian rubles, so much needed, flow to unofficial exchange dealers who today charge 120-125 Belarusian payment notes for 100 Russian rubles. The black market has its own laws.

Popular Front Calls Russian Money Reform 'Treacherous'

WS2907115593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] The Council of the Belarusian Popular Front [BPF] called the measures that were undertaken by the Russian Government on the withdrawal from circulation on the territory of Russia of the Soviet money issued in 1961-1992 treacherous in relation to Belarus. The BPF statement was distributed among the journalists who were asked to participate in the meeting with the BPF Council representatives. The authors of the statement are dissatisfied with the position of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet, the Belarusian Government, and the Belarusian National Bank who, despite this situation, did not dare to introduce the national Belarusian currency into the circulation. In connection with this, the BPF Council raises the issue of an immediate dismissal of the prime minister and the National Bank chairman.

Moldova

Foreign Minister Tau Views Planned Adherence to CIS

AU3107201893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Nicolae Mircea Nastase report from Chisinau]

[Text] The reporters of the highly popular radio program titled Current Political Events in Live Dialogue With Our Listeners, broadcast this morning by CHISINAU RADIO, had Moldova's Foreign Minister Nicolae Tau as a guest invited to the studio.

Considering the fact that the extraordinary session of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, which is to open on 3 August, one of the major issues on schedule is the passing of inter-state and inter-governmental economic treaties and agreements, among which the treaty referring to Moldova's adherence to CIS, the reporters of the program questioned Foreign Minister Tau about the political consequences for Moldova of the mentioned planned adherence.

After pointing out that both the 1991 December signing of that treaty by President Mircea Snegur and the forwarding of that document to Parliament for passing have been done according to the constitution and other laws of the republic, Tau said:

[Begin Tau recording] I want to emphasize the fact that in our opinion CIS is an international mechanism meant to ensure multilateral consultations and negotiations supporting the process of placing bilateral relations among CIS member countries on a new, qualitatively different basis. Its goal is to solve inter-state problems which have emerged after the falling apart of the Soviet Union.

I would also like to point out the fact that the Republic of Moldova has never participated and will never participate in the setting up of bodies or governmental institutions within CIS which could lead to the turning of CIS into a super-state, federative or confederative structure, in other words, to the establishment of a new empire. [end recording]

Answering the question I asked him after the conclusion of the radio program, namely whether the passing of the CIS adherence treaty will affect, in any way, Moldova's economic relations with Romania, Tau replied that no such thing could possibly happen, as the mentioned treaty will not affect Moldova's bilateral relations with other countries either.

Yeltsin Note Reiterates Will To Solve Dniester Conflict

AU0108204693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1655 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 30/7/1993—"The Russian Federation is strictly respecting the convention on a peaceful solution in the Dniester region of the Republic of Moldova. It intends to fulfill the agreements signed in this context," states a message signed by Boris Yeltsin and handed over today to President Mircea Snegur by Vladimir Plechko, Russia's ambassador to Moldova. The press service of the Moldovan presidency stated that the Russian president shares Moldova's concerns about the conflict in eastern Moldova. Yeltsin stresses that the actions of certain people do not reflect Russia's policy, which aims to stabilize and solve the conflict politically. Meeting the Russian ambassador, Mircea Snegur said that Russia's influence could hasten a solution to the conflict. He proposed to restart talks on this problem between the two presidents.

Dniester Republic Starts Producing Own Weapons

PM2907153193 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 20, 28 Jul 93 (signed to press 27 Jul 93) p 4

[Aleksandr Milkus report under the "Chronicle" rubric: "Dniester Region Launches Production of Own Weapons"]

[Text] Up to 90 percent of the major enterprises which have ended up on the territory of what is today the Dniester Moldovan Republic were all-Union property. These were primarily enterprises linked in some way with the military-industrial complex. For instance, in Bendery there is a plant producing radar equipment for warships and space tracking stations. But there were no weapons production plants located on the territory of the Dniester Republic. As officials in Tiraspol explain, however, the Dniester Moldovan Republic needs arms to protect its state. Obtaining weapons from Russia or Ukraine is quite difficult now. And property belonging to the 14th Russian Army is under strict protection and control.

Because of this the government of the Dniester Region has decided to start producing its own weapons. At the Rybnitskiy Hydraulic Pump Plant, for instance, there are plans to produce small-caliber grenade launchers ("blowtubes") [podstvolniki]. A cement plant has begun manufacturing equipment to improve "Alazan" hail guns for military application. At the metallurgical combine, technical documentation is being prepared for the production of antipersonnel and antitank mines. And work to complete the production of six 82-caliber mortars is being resumed in one of the plant's workshops.

According to A. Karaman, vice president of the Dniester Moldovan Republic, the weapons will be supplied to the Dniester region army. As yet, there are no plans to export the weapons.

Snegur Receives Romanian Presidential Envoy

AU3107190793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1500 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 31/7/1993—Mircea Snegur, the president of the Republic of Moldova, received Romanian Secretary of State Marcel Dinu of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, head of the Department for Coordination, Analysis, and Relations with the Republic of Moldova, who arrived in Chisinau as special envoy of Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

The purpose of the interview was the analysis of matters of joint interest further to the dialogue Presidents Snegur and Iliescu had on 17 July in Bucharest, MOLDOVA-PRES informs, quoting the Moldovan presidency's press bureau.

Economy Minister Admits Economic Crisis Reaches Peak

AU0108204893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1655 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 30/7/1993—A session of the parliamentary commission for economic problems and privatization took place today in Chisinau. The session discussed a list of reports to be presented at the [extraordinary] parliamentary session on 3 August. Sergiu Certan, minister of economy, said the crisis reached its peak this year with a maximum decrease of the volume of production. The capacity of production, however, has increased in industry and a good harvest is expected in the agricultural sector. Certan believes that the trust of foreign investors has grown. The worst situation is in transports and constructions. The session also heard a report on the activity of the National Bank and the monetary policy for 1993.

Lucinschi, Company Directors Discuss Industry Situation

AU0108204993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1655 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 30/7/1993—Petru Lucinschi, chairman of the Moldovan Parliament met today with leaders of large industrial plants in Chisinau. They discussed the condition of industry and some items from the agenda of the 3 August extraordinary parliament session, as well as the ratification of the Almaty agreement [on Moldova's adherence to CIS]. It was stated at the meeting that the law needs modification. Sergiu Radautan, chairman of the Scientific-Industrial Union of Moldova, presented the current condition of economy. He talked about the difficulties enterprises face and the lack of money to pay employees. "After the decision of the Russian National Bank, no more discussions are needed, even if we will have hard times until we set up currency exchange rates with other states," Sergiu Radautan said. No optimal solutions have been found to get foreign investments. "We are interested to support everything that is new in the economy if it lets producers act more effectively in Moldova," stated Petru Lucinschi.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev, Russia's Adamishin Discuss Tajik Situation

LD3107110193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0952 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko for TASS]

[Text] Almaty, 31 Jul—"We are going to strengthen the friendship between Kazakhstan and Russia that has centuries-old traditional roots and develop it on a new basis," this was stated here today during a joint interview by Republic of Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Anatoliy Adamishin, special representative of the president of the Russian Federation and Russian first deputy foreign minister. Being together is our strategic course and not just a political intrigue, they stressed.

The interview was given to correspondents after the meeting between Nursultan Nazarbayev and Anatoliy Adamishin and the talks that took place between them. The main theme of the talks was the discussion of specific and effective measures to provide reliable protection for the borders of Tajikistan against infringements by opposition fighters and Afghan Mojahedin. The sides expressed the proximity or coincidence of their positions on the issues discussed, and spoke in favor of assistance being given by Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan to arrange a dialogue between the opposing sides aimed at halting armed conflicts both within Tajikistan, itself, and on its border with Afghanistan. Stress was also laid on the need to hold a meeting of the heads of the interested states to discuss the question of the situation in Tajikistan.

Discuss Proposed Summit

LD3107214493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By Dukesh Baimbetov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Anatoliy Adamishin, Russian Federation first deputy foreign minister and special envoy of Boris Yeltsin, arrived in Almaty today.

Boris Yeltsin is proposing a special six-sided summit—between Tajikistan, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan—to discuss the issue on 7 August.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] At the summit, we should all support Tajikistan during this difficult period. At the same time, we should say that the Tajikistan leadership should work with the opposition and with the leadership of Afghanistan. That is one suggestion.

The next suggestion is that we have to jointly ask the leaders of Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia to work together to stabilize the situation in this region. After meeting, the heads of state should ask the UN secretary general to send observers to this border. [end recording]

Government Reaches Credit Agreement With Russia

MK3007123093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Jul 93 p 3

[Konstantin Smirnov report: "Kazakhstan Given Access to New Ruble Zone"]

[Text] KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported in its previous issue that although the Russian Central Bank has "cut off" cash rubles issued from 1961 to 1992, which circulate in the republics of the former USSR (and also despite fairly tough methods used in the reform), four republics—Armenia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan—decided to join a new ruble zone. Russia, for its part, will sign corresponding agreements only after its partners pledge fully to respect all their debts. Today, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin and his Kazakhstani counterpart Daulet Sembayev will initial an agreement converting a technical credit granted by Russia to Kazakhstan in 1992-1993 into a government one.

The agreement reached by Aleksandr Shokhin and Daulet Sembayev to convert Kazakhstan's debt on the technical credit granted by Russia in 1992 and between January and June 1993 into a government one to be repaid by the year 2000 appears very opportune. If the signing of an intergovernment agreement were thwarted again this time (a Moscow visit by Kazakhstani Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko in June did not reconcile the differences between the two sides as to the amount of the debt), the positive outcome of talks between Presidents Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, scheduled to begin in Moscow soon, would be called into question—at least as far as their monetary aspects are concerned.

On 26 July, the Kazakhstani Government and the National Bank opted to continue to use the ruble as the republic's sole legal tender and to exchange old banknotes for new ones. Kazakhstan effectively made public its desire to join a new ruble zone. According to Russian Central Bank chiefs, however, the bank is ready to replenish the republic's treasury with new rubles provided at least two conditions are met. First, it is essential to resolve the debt problem and, second, to reach agreement at the level of heads of state that the Kazakhstani National Bank will accept the existence of only one issuing center—the Bank of Russia. As a result, the lengthy negotiating process was completed by Kazakhstan's admitting its debt on the technical credit granted by Russia in 1992-1993 in an amount of 547.6 billion rubles [R]. Under the agreement, the debt will be repaid in 1994-2000 with interest payable at LIBOR [London Interbank Overnight Rate] +1. In addition, the two sides agreed on the terms and conditions of another government credit worth R150 billion to be granted by Russia to Kazakhstan in 1993 for three years.

Nazarbayev, Bulgaria's Zhelev Sign Cooperation Treaty

AU3007201793 Sofia BTA in English 1658 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 30 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria and President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries, the special correspondent of the Bulgarian National Radio, Khristo Khristov, reported from Almaty. Equality-based partnership is the basic principle underlying the treaty.

Talks of the sides' official delegations followed the meeting between the two presidents. The treaty of friendship and cooperation provided the legal framework for concluding an agreement on trade and economic cooperation and agreements on cooperation in agriculture, industry, pharmaceutics and construction. The sides signed two conventions - on plant and veterinary protection, and a protocol on cooperation between the foreign ministries of Bulgaria and Kazakhstan. The Bulgarian businessmen accompanying the delegation signed three interdepartmental agreements. MP Ivan Pushkarov, a member of the delegation, handed a letter of initiative from the Bulgarian Parliament to the Supreme Council of Deputies in Kazakhstan informing it that an interparliamentary group for cooperation with Kazakhstan had been set up in Bulgaria.

The official delegations considered plans and programmes for the establishment of joint ventures and the promotion of investments. The basic principles for the setting up of a textile consortium, Kabo, were specified. The work on another two agreements - on the avoidance of double taxation and reciprocal protection of investments, is going on, they will be officially signed during President Nazarbayev's forthcoming visit to Bulgaria.

Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade Valentin Karabashev had talks with Kazakhstan's Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Syzdyk Abishev. The Bulgarian businessmen had a meeting with future partners at the Chamber of Commerce of Kazakhstan. An agreement was reached to establish a Bulgarian-Kazakh Bank.

Speaking at a press conference after the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed, President Zhelev said that document, as well as the other agreements reached, would serve to create a legal framework for the relations between Bulgaria and Kazakhstan under market economy conditions, BTA special correspondent Maya Savova reported.

President Nazarbayev expressed his satisfaction with the talks with the Bulgarian delegation. He pointed out Kazakhstan's great interest in the Bulgarian experience in privatization, agriculture and the tourist industry. The Kazakh president highly appreciated Bulgaria's principled policy aiming to stabilize the situation in the Balkans and promote goodneighbourliness in the region.

At this morning's tete-a-tete the two presidents familiarized each other with the progress of social and economic reforms in their countries. They confirmed their interest in the exchange of experience in the democratization of society and the transition to a market economy by establishing contacts between the two countries' parliaments and different regions, the BTA special correspondent informed.

The joint communique on President Zhelev's visit attaches special importance to the preservation of the traditional friendly relations between Bulgaria and Kazakhstan and to placing them on a qualitatively new basis—equality and mutual advantage. The sides agreed to expand their cooperation in industry, transport, trade, agriculture, telecommunications, environment, health care and tourism.

Sign Economic Agreements

LD3107143293 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Yesterday President Nursultan Nazarbayev met President of Bulgaria Zhelyu Zhelev who had arrived in Almaty earlier on an official visit. In their talk, held in an atmosphere of openness and benevolence, the leaders of two countries exchanged opinions on issues of mutual interest, and noted the importance of developing traditional friendly ties between Kazakhstan and Bulgaria on a qualitatively new basis. In this context, problems of developing cooperation in the spheres of industry and transport, agriculture, telecommunication systems, ecology, health care and tourism, conversion of defense industry, activation of cultural and scientific contacts were discussed.

Having informed each other about the course of social and economic reforms in their countries, the presidents confirmed their interest in further sharing the two countries' expertise, in democratization of society, and transfer to a market economy. Touching upon urgent international problems and conflict situations in various regions, they found their views and stances compatible or close to each other, and expressed their readiness to interact in order to strengthen peace, stability, and security both on regional and global scales.

During the talks the urgency of regulating the situation in former Yugoslavia as soon as possible was underlined. It is in the interests of ensuring peace in Europe and the Balkans. Special attention was paid on the necessity to compensate the damage inflicted on Bulgaria as the result of the embargo against Serbia and Chernogoria [Montenegro]. The parties agreed to cooperate in the UNO and other international structures on the issues in which Kazakhstan and Bulgaria have common interests.

Positively characterizing the principled policy of the Bulgarian leadership aimed at stabilizing the situation in the Balkans, and development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation, Nursultan Nazarbayev noted that the Bulgarian official delegation is the first one of the East European countries to visit Kazakhstan after the collapse of the COMECON. Nazarbayev said that friendly relations with other states in the region will be established via Bulgaria.

Zhelev in his turn approved of changes going on in Kazakhstan. He highly assessed the initiatives of its president on convocation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe measures in Asia that had been supported by 17 countries so far. He invited Nursultan Nazarbayev to pay a return visit to Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The constructive talk of the presidents, and talks held later between the official delegations, showed the sincere interest of both sides in further broad-scale cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Vice President Yerik Asanbayev, Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko, Supreme Kenges Deputy Chairman Kayrolla Yerezhepov, Syzdyk Abishev, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign economic relations, Nurtay Abykayev, head of the president's and Cabinet of Ministers' administration, Foreign Minister Tuleutay Suleymenov, and other leading officials participated in the talks.

An agreement on friendly relations and cooperation between Kazakhstan and Bulgaria, an agreement on trade—economic cooperation and setting up a joint Kazakhstani-Bulgarian credit and investments bank and holding company and a convention on cooperation in agriculture and other documents were signed. After the signing ceremony the presidents held a joint news conference and answered numerous correspondents questions.

In the afternoon the guests visited an Almaty carpet factory, laid wreaths to the Glory Memorial in 28 Guardian Panfilov Soldiers Park and visited the Kazakh Museum of Traditional Musical Instruments. In the evening a reception on behalf of President Nursultan Nazarbayev was given. On Saturday, after viewing the Medeo sports complex, President Zhelev and his escort leave Kazakhstan.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Discusses Tajik-Afghan Situation With Russian Envoy

LD0208080293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0705 GMT 2 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek, 2 Aug—The problem of settling the conflict on the Tajik-Afghan border was discussed today by President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan and Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin. Askar Akayev expressed Kyrgyzstan's commitment to all the treaties adopted and initiatives taken by Russia and the CIS countries to maintain peace on the Commonwealth's borders.

The chairman of Kyrgyzstan's State Committee for Defense Affairs [equivalent of Defense Ministry] and its ministers of foreign and internal affairs took part in the meeting.

After visiting a local border guard headquarters, the Russian delegation will today set off for Ashgabat.

Zhelev Signs Communique; Russian Diplomats To Visit

LD3107145993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1310 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Report by correspondent Aleskandr Mirtov from Bishkek, including recorded remarks by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev; Zhelev speaks in Russian; from the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Panorama Aleksandr Ruvinskiy] And now Bishkek is on the line with the Mayak Panorama studio. Our correspondent Aleksandr Mirtov will give us the news. Over to you.

[Mirtov] Aleksandr Ilyich, you have already mentioned today that President of Bulgaria Zhelyu Zhelev, arrived here in Bishkek on a brief official visit. This visit began this morning when Zhelev arrived in Kyrgyzstan's capital from Almaty. The visit has been a brief one. It could rather be called a familiarization visit. The communique on prospects for further cooperation and development of economic and cultural ties between Bulgaria and Kyrgyzstan that has been signed was the result of the talks between the two presidents. Well, what are these prospects like, and what do the above leaders themselves think of them? Here is what was said in an interview to correspondents by Askar Akayev and Zhelyu Zhelev:

[Akayev] I will mention three spheres that are priority ones both for the Kyrgyz republic and for the Republic of Bulgaria.

Agriculture, especially the processing industries, is one of them. We have had the same examples in Kyrgyzstan, too [meaning unclear]. We would of course like to develop cooperation in this sphere.

The second sphere that is a priority one both here and in the Republic of Bulgaria is tourism. Bulgaria has immense experience in the development of international tourism.

The third sphere: Bulgaria and Kyrgyzstan were at the time the first to set out on a course toward the development of science-intensive plants in industry. I can see that we have wide-ranging prospects for joint activity and the joint development of cooperation in this sphere, too.

[Zhelev] I am also confident that there are great opportunities for the development of cooperation, first of all, economic cooperation between our countries. A question for the near future is signing all these documents and trying to flesh them out with real content.

[Mirtov] Today, too, the state delegation of the Bulgarian republic with President Zhelyu Zhelev at its head left Bishkek.

Here is another piece of news connected with international visits: The expected arrival in the capital of Kyrgyzstan of a Russian Foreign Ministry delegation. It is assumed that the Russian diplomats will conduct a number of meetings and consultations with Kyrgyzstan's leaders on working out a unified position of the Commonwealth states on questions of collective security.

It is also assumed that they will discuss the initiative of Presidents Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and Karimov of Uzbekistan on the need for convening a conference of heads of state of the Commonwealth with a view to resolving many economic problems. Well, questions regarding bilateral Kyrgyz-Russian relations will also be discussed. Well, I shall be reporting on this in greater details in subsequent Mayak Panorama bulletins.

State Committee Issues Resolution on Ruble Exchange

LD3107132893 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 2300 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Summary] In connection with the exchange of old bank notes in Russia, the State Committee for Introduction of National Currency of Kyrgyzstan passed a resolution on urgent measures in connection with the exchange of rubles by the Russian Federation Central Bank. This resolution stops exchange transactions of national currency for Russian rubles issued in 1992. The exchange bureaus of the republic are not recommended to sell hard currency and Russian rubles issued in 1993 until 7 August. Legal entities are not allowed to send their employees on business trips to the ruble zone countries until further notice. A maximum of 200,000 Russian rubles of 1993 issue per one person can be exported from Kyrgyzstan.

EC Develops Program To Help Private Businesses

LD3007180493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1504 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek July 30 TASS—"Europe is prepared to help finance private businesses in Kyrgyzstan," said Tom Anwin, newly appointed chairman of Coordinating Bureau of the EC Commission under the Kyrgyz Government.

According to Anwin, now that all the republics of the former Soviet Union are in a crisis (and in Kyrgyzstan it is much graver than in Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan), private business is taking on the greatest significance.

The EEC has worked out a special programme called "Tasis" to support certain Kyrgyz entrepreneurs in fostering economic reforms and to revive political activities in Kyrgyzstan with a view to creating a market-oriented system.

The EC consortium of non-commercial organizations will take part in the implementation of the project. The budget of the "Tasis" programme amounts to 1.5 mln ECU [European Currency Units].

Europe is ready to help Kyrgyzstan, whereas the latter, to all appearances, is not prepared to accept the help. According to official sources, an overwhelming majority of local businessmen are engaged in intermediary activities or in reselling ready-made goods.

Only about seven per cent of them are engaged in the production sphere, but, being tied up with the Commonwealth markets and raw materials, their businesses, as a rule, go from bad to worse.

Iranian Pharmaceutical Company Proposes Cooperation

LD3007160093 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 2300 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Representatives of the Iranian pharmaceutical company [name indistinct] addressed a proposal to the state association Gosfarmindustria [state pharmaceutical directorate] on establishing business contacts. The guests from Tehran spoke about the medication and cosmetics produced by them, which enjoy popularity on the international market. The foreign entrepreneurs intend to establish cooperation with Kyrgyzstan by several stages.

According to them, at the first stage, pharmacies can be opened in Bishkek with their produce, which will be sold for soms. Later, with the profit received, Iranians can offer to set up a joint venture to produce medication and cosmetics.

Tajikistan

Adamishin Visits Afghan Border, Favors Peace Talks

LD3007152293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1000 GMT on 30 July carries a two-minute report by correspondent Anton Grishin on the visit to Tajikistan by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, "who is currently acting foreign minister while Andrey Kozyrev is on leave." Grishin says: "Today, Anatoliy Adamishin visited the Tajik-Afghan border, where the Kyrgyz volunteer battalion had at long last arrived the day before. The program of his trip includes meetings with Russian border guards of the Moskovskiy Border Troop Detachment and servicemen of the 201st Russian Motor Rifle Division."

He goes on to state that Adamishin will also meet Imamali Rakhmanov and colleagues from the republican foreign ministry. "We have learned that Anatoliy Adamishin will discuss with the Tajik leadership the accords reached in Minsk on 22 December, concerning, let me recall, the so-called additional support battalions from Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine and Belorussia, designed to strengthen the Tajik-Afghan borders. Holding a quadrilateral meeting between Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Russia and Uzbekistan in the summer of this year remains an important factor in the talks. On 28 July, the Tajik Government sent proposals to the Russian Foreign Ministry saying that the talks should be held in Dushanbe in mid-August. For its part, having expressed its consent in principle, the Russian side insists that the talks should be held as soon as possible. According to Anatoliy Adamishin, Russia has its own interests in Central Asia, and that is why regional security is a matter of foremost importance.

"Later today, Anatoliy Adamishin will hold a short meeting with representatives of the Russian community in Tajikistan, and will also meet with those in command of the 201st Division, and with Anatoliy Parakhin, first deputy commander of the Russian Federation Border Troops."

Leaves Dushanbe After 'Good' Talks

LD3007151793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1335 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Dushanbe, 30 Jul— "I can describe the results of my visit in one word—good", Anatoliy Adamishin, the Russian president's special representative and Russian Federation first deputy foreign minister told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today at the end of his visit to Tajikistan. He held talks with Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan, met the leaders of the group of Russian Border Troops in Tajikistan and visited the Tajik-Afghan border region where the Russian Border Troops are stationed.

In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Anatoliy Adamishin emphasized that first and foremost it is necessary to summon a meeting of the heads of the Central Asian republics, as the Russian president had said in a message to Imamali Rakhmanov, where, in particular, the situation in Tajikistan and measures to settle it could be examined. There is also a need to speed up preparations for holding a quadrilateral meeting involving the representatives of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Russia to resolve the series of questions connected with the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border. Because of the unsatisfactory situation there, we have to continue undertaking measures of a military nature in order to strengthen it. In saying this, the deputy minister noted that "as before, the cornerstone of Russian policy remains measures to achieve a peaceful settlement of the existing problems."

Tajikistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs Rashid Olimov told ITAR-TASS correspondents: "At the Russian-Tajik meetings our viewpoints on ways to resolve the complex problems facing Tajikistan were very close. We have already agreed on general formulas. Now we have to work out a mechanism for their implementation. Success in implementing them depends to a large extent upon the positions of our colleagues both in the CIS member states and in the Islamic State of Afghanistan. In other words, there is much work ahead before we can achieve real success in our relations."

The Russian delegation left Dushanbe today for Tashkent.

Supports Political Solution

LD3107105093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0711 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Report by Dushanbe correspondent Alisher Khodzhayev]

[Text] The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border continues to deteriorate. The situation remains complex despite the fact that there has been no firing or combat over the past two days. Large armed groups are concentrating simultaneously in Ishkashim, Kalai-Khumb—in the Pamirs—Shurabad, and Pyandzh. Arms are being sent to these sectors from the adjoining river bank, and large-scale opposition forces are preparing to cross.

Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry has reliable information that Afghan combat commanders are assisting the Tajik opposition in delivering weapons and munitions to the adjoining river bank. Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry issued a statement today in which all of these actions are considered nothing more than a direct encroachment on the country's territorial integrity and security. Under UN Charter Article 51, Tajikistan reserves the right to take resolute measures to end the hostile acts on its border in conjunction with the collective security treaty countries.

Anatoliy Adamishin, the Russian president's special representative and Russian deputy foreign minister, was in Tajikistan for two days. He visited the Tajik-Afghan border, met Tajikistan's head of state, and consulted with the military and with the border guards. He told me that Russia supports a political solution to the Tajik-Afghan problem and that Russia and the other CIS countries plan to take joint action.

This is literally the latest news: Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov left by air for Tashkent a few minutes ago to discuss the deteriorating border situation. As the diplomat himself said, the purpose of his visit is the quest for special measures to ease the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border. Of course, this requires support from the whole CIS. I am afraid that it could be too late. Our diplomats work very slowly, and the situation is really complex.

Fighting on Border Continues; Militants Resisting

LD3007193593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1614 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Dushanbe July 30 TASS—The government of Tajikistan in conjunction with Russian border troops continues the operation to rout Tajik opposition militants and their Afghan supporters who had penetrated Tajikistan territory from Afghanistan at the end of June near the 11th post of the Moscow border guard detachment.

According to military sources, separate groups of militants are still resisting, as their determination is evidently being supported by backers on Afghan territory, including the 55 Infantry Division of the Afghan Defence Ministry. Units of this division took part in the assault against the 11th post on July 13.

According to some sources, the militants had been ordered to fight to the last by their foreign commanders. These kamikazes may face death by firing squads as cowards if they return to Afghanistan, the sources said.

According to the same sources, attempts to cross the River Pyandzh and support the militants controlling some heights near the Tajik village of Vari have been repeatedly made in the past three days. However, all these attempts have been beaten back by fire.

No casualties among Russian border troops have been reported. Some unofficial sources report that several government troops were wounded, but the exact numbers were not immediately known.

Russian Forces Bombard Rebels

LD3107104893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0904 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul—The situation remains tense on the Tajik-Afghan border: Russian frontier guards and subunits of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division of the Russian Federation are continuing measures to stabilize the situation on the border. The ITAR-TASS correspondent learned from informed sources that, on Friday evening several aircraft of the Russian forces carried out a rocket bombardment of a group of militants numbering some 200 men who were trying to cross the River Pyandzh in the sector of the 11th outpost of the Moskovskiy border detachment. This caused the border violators to turn back.

Last night and this morning passed relatively quietly at the border, the ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the press center of Russia's frontier troops. According to the press center, yesterday afternoon a detail of the 11th border outpost of the Moskovskiy border detachment was shelled. One frontier guard was wounded.

There was no retaliatory shelling against Afghanistan territory.

Large-Scale Invasion Expected

MK3107103493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 1

[V.K.-signed report under the "In Brief" rubric: "New Attack on Russian Border Troops?"]

[Text] According to reports from high places, a large-scale invasion of Tajikistan from Afghanistan is expected on 30 and 31 July. The strike is planned to be delivered in the areas patrolled by Pyandzh and Moscow border troop units. According to intelligence reports from Russian border guards, the operation may involve between 1,500 guerrillas of the Tajik opposition and 1,700 Afghan mujahidin.

Late on 30 July, a small part of the force was located on the islands in the border river of Pyandzh. The bulk of the forces was concentrated in villages in the territory of Afghanistan. Air reconnaissance has reported that reserves were being pulled there from deep inside this neighboring state.

In military specialists' view, the invasion cannot be blocked right on the border due to difficult terrain, and the enemy would have to be engaged in Tajikistan's border area.

Russian Commander Describes 'Crushing Blow'

LD0108134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1240 GMT 1 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Dushanbe, 1 Aug—An operation to totally rout the anti-government group of Tajik fighters and Afghan mojahedin, which infiltrated across the border in the vicinity of border post No. 11 of the Moscow Border Detachment at the end of June, has been practically completed. The operation was conducted by Tajikistan Government forces supported by Russian border troops and the 201st Russian Motorized-Rifle Division in coordinated actions using land armaments and helicopters. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed of this today at the command headquarters of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan. In the words of Major General Anatoliy Chechulin, commander of the group of Russian border troops, "a crushing blow was dealt to the opposition." More than 100 fighters were killed, while a few succeeded in slipping the cordon. A large quantity of various weapons and ammunition were captured. General Chechulin reported that only small scattered groups of violators remained in the immediate vicinity of the border, who present no danger and are attempting to escape to the adjoining bank.

The commander of the group of Russian border troops in Tajikistan stressed that such a blow has been dealt that in the future "the enemy will have to think seriously before deciding on provocations similar to the one carried out on 13 July against the 12th outpost."

Characterizing the operational situation on the Tajik-Afghan border as a whole, Chechulin said that at present it is under control and "no movements on the adjoining shore in the direction of the Tajik-Afghan border have been observed." At the same time, the general called the situation "alarming," saying in this connection that in the event of any attempts at large-scale provocations the border troops will inflict a resolute rebuff on the enemy using every kind of combat weapon.

Rebels Said Retreating With Heavy Losses

LD0108161493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1552 GMT 1 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Dushanbe August 1 TASS—Combat actions have been continuing for over a week already in the mountains around the Tajik village of Vari, situated just a few kilometers from the Tajik-Afghan border. Government troops backed by the border guards of the 11th border post are fighting to push out a group of Tajik rebel militants and Afghan mojahedin.

Commenting on the situation in this region, a staff officer of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan told TASS that the operation is being carried out in a locality with terrain accidents making it impossible to use armored equipment. Nearly all of strategic heights are occupied by Tajik militants and Afghan mojahedin, having much experience in fighting battles on difficult ground and knowing this locality quite well. Nevertheless, the officer stressed, the enemy retreats, suffering heavy losses, towards the Afghan bank of the Pyandzh River. The Russian border troops leaders believe that the operation is to be completed within the next few days.

The situation on other sections of the Tajik-Afghan border is also rather complicated, according to border guards. The 3rd border post of the Moscow border detachment came under rocket fire from Afghan territory on Saturday. Fortunately, no shells hit the border post. The border guards did not fire back.

However, according to well-informed sources, the anti-government forces entrenching on Afghan territory are preparing to launch new large-scale provocations on the Tajik-Afghan border. At present, 14 camps are operating in Afghan border districts where militants are being trained from among Tajik refugees. They are mastering methods of fighting guerrilla war on Tajik territory under the guidance of both Afghan instructors and those from Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Egypt and other countries. The largest of these camps are located in Panjshir, Warsadze, Taluqan and Kunduz. The sources maintain that the said countries are rendering substantial military and financial aid to militant camps in Afghanistan. Contingents of Tajik opposition forces and Afghan mojahedin are concentrating in Afghanistan's Ishkashim District, bordering on the Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region in Tajikistan. The forces, which are well-armed and provided with armored equipment, seek to penetrate into the mountainous Tavildara District controlled by the internal opposition.

However, Tavildara is separated from Afghanistan by the Gorno- Badakhshan Region. In this connection, local observers do not exclude that the recent arrival to the region of Davlat Usmon, former Tajik deputy prime minister and leader of the Islamic Party of Revival, and now a member of the so-called Tajik Government-in-exile, aims "to exert pressure" upon influential leaders of the Badakhshan opposition.

Kyrgyz Battalion Heads to Tajik-Afghan Border

LD3007111293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] A battalion of volunteers from Kyrgyzstan has arrived on the Tajik-Afghan border, RIA reports. About 500 officers and soldiers who have been accepted for military service on a contract basis were taken from Bishkek to Osh by air. They then travelled by vehicle almost 800 km along the Pamirs highway to Ishkashimskiy Rayon of Gorno-Badakhshan. Here the battalion will take up positions along the border. This action has been carried out in accordance with the decision made in Minsk this January by the heads of CIS states.

Seen Looking for Excuse To Leave

MK3107111693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Jul 93 p 3

[Vera Kuznetsova report under the "NEGA Report" rubric]

[Text] On 29 July at 2045 Tajikistan time, a minor incident of a personal nature occurred as a Kyrgyz battalion arrived at the Tajik-Afghan border. Kyrgyz battalion commander Isakov had a quarrel with the commander of a Russian border guard detachment stationed on the Tajik-Afghan border where the Kyrgyzians arrived. Isakov insists that the Russian commander spoke disrespectfully to him, or simply called him names. Some officials comment that Isakov does not want the Kyrgyz battalion to remain long at the Tajik-Afghan border. This is what the Kyrgyz military also did not want to do as early as last year, and the battalion that also guarded the border was withdrawn. According to some power structure officials, commanding officers of the Kyrgyz battalion still have a mind to find some specious excuse for leaving the Tajik-Afghan border.

Olimov Praises Russian Statement on Afghan Border

LD0108134593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1324 GMT 1 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Yarushin]

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—"I consider the statement by the Russian Government very timely. It describes in clear-cut terms the situation at the Tajik-Afghan border and contains another warning to those seeking to violate Tajikistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as posing a threat for the Commonwealth of Independent States," Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov told TASS by the phone on Sunday [1 August] noon commenting on the statement by the Russian Government concerning the current situation at the Tajik-Afghan border. According to the minister, the statement "calls for political restraint". It is "designed to cool hotheads in Afghanistan" and to avert actions aimed at the escalation of tensions in the region.

Olimov recalled that for its part, the Tajik leadership takes persistent measures to normalize the situation in the region and is always ready for a dialogue at any level, including talks between the Tajik and Afghan leaders. "We appeal to the reason and foresight of the Afghan side", the Tajik minister stressed. He reported that earlier in the day he "turned for the second time to Afghan Foreign Minister Hedayat Amin Arsalla with a proposal to meet in Dushanbe to discuss the situation at the border and to work out measures for its settlement." Any dragging out of "a bilateral or multilateral dialogue on this matter is inadmissible," Olimov emphasised.

In conclusion the Tajik foreign minister said, answering a question about the latest news from the border, that the situation there "remained quite calm."

Security Chief Comments on Resolution of Conflict

LD0108154393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1445 GMT 1 Jul 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] The situation in Tajikistan will largely depend on the leaders of four states—Afghanistan, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan—and efforts by the world community to resolve the political conflict over the Tajik-Afghan border, Saydamir Zukhorov, the chairman of the Tajikistan National Security Committee, said today.

Tajik officials have condemned statements by some Russian politicians demanding that Russian forces be pulled out of Tajikistan. Their comments are a stab in the back to Russian soldiers serving in Tajikistan and to the Russian community not only here but also in other CIS countries, they said. [passage omitted]

Political Situation in Gorno-Badakhshan Assessed

LD3107135693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 31 Jul 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast is the only one in Tajikistan at present where the opposition with armed detachments still determines a political strategy in the whole of Pamir. The Pamir and [word indistinct] people have found themselves in opposition after Imamali Rakhmanov came to power. According to Amnesty International, it is they who still fall victims to government terror in Dushanbe. There are reports that, to date, some 3,000 representatives of this ethnic group have been shot dead in the capital.

Badakhshan, located high in the mountains, in fact is isolated from the center, both politically and economically. Only here real power belongs to the real opposition, by the way, which is absolutely not inclined to Islamic fundamentalism. The people of Badakhshan are preaching Ismaili, a Shiah movement in Islam.

Three months ago the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, disregarding the government, proclaimed itself a republic and became the only place in Tajikistan where political parties and organizations that have been completely eliminated in Dushanbe continue legal activities and even have a coordinating center. The (?KKMB) [expansion unknown] of Tajikistan is inclined to blame the Tajik diaspora in Moscow for ideological leadership. There is still no evidence of that. A lair of the whole armed opposition—this is how Rakhmanov's allies term Badakhshan.

[Begin recording: U. Mamatshoyeva, member of presidium of Lali Bodakhshon] The main demands of the Badakhshan opposition forces are the resignation of Tajikistan's present government and Rakhmanov's resignation from the political arena. [end recording]

According to the Pamir people and leaders of their armed detachments, the Badakhshan inhabitants are a small people and they cannot survive without an empire. If they have to choose they will not exchange Russia for Afghanistan.

Government Supports Defense of Border

LD0108202693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 gmt 1 Aug 93

[By A. Kondrashov from Tajikistan; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A week ago the government in Gorno-Badakhshan was disbanded. The opposition leaders, who had been demanding its resignation, now make up the new official regime in the region. At a session today a statement was prepared by them addressed to the Russian Government. We will support all efforts aimed at defending the border, the statement says. There was and is no question of the withdrawal of border troops. The new leaders of Badakhshan also inform the Russian Government that they support the current government of Tajikistan and its efforts aimed at stabilization and declare that they do not intend to build a model of state government based on religious principles.

Apart from this, the government of Badakhshan categorically denied today's reports that they are conducting secret talks with the opposition located on Afghan territory. This is a provocation and an attempt to disturb the equilibrium which has been reached, the statement says. In spite of this equilibrium, the Russian border troop detachment billeted in Badakhshan has been put on a state of total combat readiness.

In the words of Badakhshan's leaders, there are no mojahedin at all on the Afghan side. They have been mistaken for the Tajik opposition. However, this does not make things any easier for the border troops.

New Leader Examines Situation

LD0208171693 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0030 GMT 2 Aug 93

[Text] Yesterday, Bakhtiyor Gzhanirov, newly elected chairman of the Gorno Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast's Executive Committee, met with leaders and activists of Darvazskiy rayon. The aim of the meeting was to learn the current situation in the rayon.

After listening to the reports of the rayon's leaders, the newly elected chairman of the oblast executive committee stated that the leaders of the oblast will take all measures to tackle all the problems. He stated that in the near future employees of the internal affairs, national security committee, and the other law enforcement bodies will set up additional checkpoints to completely stabilize the situation. The leadership of the oblast together with the law enforcement bodies are currently taking all necessary measures to provide conditions so that consignments which are being sent from the capital of our republic can be delivered to the people, he said.

The chairman of the oblast executive committee also answered the numerous questions of the participants at the meeting.

Ethnic Council Denounces Afghan Actions

LD3007221593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2041 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Dushanbe July 31 TASS—The coordinating council of Tajikistan's ethnic associations and communities addressed on Friday the heads of CIS member-states, the United Nations, the CSCE, the world community and the Afghan people. The council called upon them to resolutely denounce the Afghan extremist forces and Tajik rebels and to take all necessary measures to strengthen CIS borders.

The appeal by the coordinating council stresses that Afghanistan's overt aggression against Tajikistan is fraught with grave consequences for both the Central Asian republics and the world at large.

A small group of failed politicians and of people deceived by them, the document reads, have created a number of centers for training militants on Afghan territory and are launching, with the support of Afghan field commanders, armed raids on Russian Border Guards, who are performing their duties in full compliance with collective security agreements between CIS states. Resorting to lies and slander, the Tajik opposition outside Tajikistan is seeking to counterpose the Tajik and Afghan peoples and cause an armed clash between them. After failing to win support from its own people, and suffering ideological, political and military defeat, the Tajik opposition attempts to unleash an interstate conflict.

We are calling upon the brotherly Afghan people, the document says, not to believe the conjectures and slanders disseminated by the group of renegades repudiated by their own people. Afghanistan has suffered the horrors of a years-old war itself. The Tajik people has also drained the cup of woe. The peoples of Tajikistan and Afghanistan need peace and creative labour for the good of future generations, the address pointes out.

Rakhmanov Appeals for Return of Tajik Refugees

LD3007191993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1207 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul—Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov has urged all those inhabitants of his republic who have left because of the events taking place there to return.

In an appeal to his fellow countrymen, the text of which was circulated today by Tajikistan's permanent mission in Moscow, the head of state noted that the situation in Tajikistan has begun to stabilize. "The Republic has need of your knowledge and experience, and of your devotion to our common land," he writes. "The Tajikistan that awaits you has always been, and remains, attached by close bonds of blood and affection to all who have lived here."

Statistics Committee Reports on Economic Crisis

LD3007142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By KHOVAR correspondent Negmat Ochilov for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe July 30 TASS—Tajikistan continues to struggle through an economic crisis. This is confirmed by the report of the republican statistics committee about the results of its work for the first six month of the current year.

The gross domestic product in the 1992 prices amounted only to 77 per cent of the 1992 level. The situation continues to be complicated in the financial-budgetary and monetary-credit sphere. This year the purchasing power of one rouble is equal to that of 13 kopecks in the first half of 1992.

The Tajik industry is experiencing serious difficulties with raw and other materials, fuel and accessories. Mostly for this reason the losses of working hours exceeded 406,000 man-days during the past six months.

However, according to a report of the national statistics service, some progress has been achieved in power engineering, and the chemical industry. The output of power transformers, cables, refrigerators and cotton fibre has been increased.

The number of loss-making enterprises has increased in about all spheres of the national economy. In industry they account for 18 per cent. Credit investments in the economy reached 428,000 billion roubles, which is 4.5 times greater than at the beginning of the current year.

Armenia

Foreign Ministry Briefs Diplomats on View of UN Talks

NC3107094093 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1036 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan and First Deputy Foreign Minister Zhirair Liparityan held a briefing yesterday for the heads of diplomatic missions to Yerevan from countries that are members of the UN Security Council and the CSCE.

They informed the diplomats of the Armenian Foreign Ministry's objections and clarifications concerning the two draft resolutions raised during the Security Council's discussion of the latest deterioration in the Karabakh conflict.

Answering diplomats' questions, Liparityan stressed that the meeting held between the representatives of Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh proves Azerbaijan recognizes Nagorno-Karabakh as a side in the conflict.

The meeting highlighted that no matter how much the bilateral contacts extend, they must eventually be integrated in the CSCE peace process to ensure other guarantees.

A copy of the letter sent by the Armenian foreign minister to Mario Raffaelli was handed to the diplomats.

Foreign Minister Urges Iranian Mediation in Karabakh

LD3107161193 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1430 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Armenia's Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan has sent a written message to 'Ali Akbar Velayati, the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign minister, expressing his country's earnest interest in having good and constructive relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Vahan Papazyan's message states: the Republic of Armenia has particularly high regard for the Islamic Republic of Iran, and it sees Iran's role in strengthening peace and stability in the region as fundamental and praiseworthy.

The message refers to Iran's peace-seeking efforts aimed at resolving the Karabakh conflict and stresses that Armenia hopes the Islamic Republic of Iran will continue its efforts toward the resolution of the conflict between Karabakh and the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Karabakh Foreign Minister 29 Jul News Conference

NC3107091693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Arkadiy Gukasyan, the foreign minister of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR], held a news conference in Stepanakert on 29 July devoted to three fundamental issues: The problems involving the newly established Foreign Ministry, the NKR authorities' stance on the implementation of the schedule of urgent measures stemming from UN Security Council Resolution 822, and, the result of the 28 July meeting between the representatives of the Azerbaijani and NKR Republics.

The NKR Defense Army Headquarters reported that Gukasyan said the creation of the republic's Foreign Ministry is linked with the start of a new era in the life of the NKR and with the republic's having virtually become a subject of international law. The first steps have been taken. The Ministry has sent messages of cooperation to the diplomats accredited to the Russian Federation.

As for the schedule of urgent measures, the foreign minister noted it cannot be implemented, because some provisions concerning the NKR have not been put into effect.

Gukasyan then answered correspondent's questions.

Azerbaijanis Reportedly Shell Agdam 1 Aug

NC0208093693 Yerevan SNARK in English 0857 GMT 2 Aug 93

[Text] Stepanakert, August 2 (SNARK)—Last night the Agdam town was shelled by the Azerbaijani artillery from the territory of the Agdzhabedy region, Azerbaijan.

The Karabakh Department of Press and Information told SNARK there are hard destructions in the town. No victims because the Azerbaijani artillery shelled the town where no people were supposing that the Karabakh forces are in Agdam.

Yesterday evening the Azerbaijani units tried to attack the Karabakh army positions in the Martuni region. The Karabakh defenders made Azeris retreat to the initial positions. Two Azeris killed, some were wounded. The Karabakh side has no losses.

Azerbaijan

Elchibey Thanks U.S., UN for Discussing Armenia

NC0208120593 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1119 GMT 2 Aug 93

[Text] Baku, 02.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—The aggressor hasn't been named again, but Armenia's direct participation in military action against Azerbaijan has been confirmed, said the President Abulfaz Elchibey in his address to the President of the USA Mr. Clinton and to the general secretary of the UNO [United Nations Organization] Mr. Butrus-Ghali regarding the Resolution 853 adopted by UNO's Security Council. Mr. Elchibey thanked both leaders for cooperation in the discussion of the issue and for the decision to urgently free the occupied territories. However, simultaneously Mr. Elchibey emphasized in his address that it will be impossible to implement this fair decision without recognizing the aggressor.

Azerbaijan, Karabakh Agree to Seven-Day Cease-Fire

NC3107183293 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan Presidential Press Service has disclosed that Azerbaijan and the competent representatives of the Armenian community in Daghlyk Karabakh have reached a seven-day cease-fire agreement in the talks being held in the buffer zone in Agdere Rayon. The outcome of the meeting has created a basis for the continuation of the talks in the future. The [words indistinct] confirmed that a joint coordination committee will be established. The committee will be made up of the competent representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the Armenian community in Karabakh.

It is common knowledge that the proposal for a cease-fire agreement and the establishment of a joint coordination committee was first proposed by the Azerbaijani delegation to the talks that were held in Rome in March 1993. Later, the proposal was supported by Mario Raffaelli, chairman of the CSCE Peace Conference on Karabakh.

The meeting participants explained their approach to the situation and their views on how the problem should be solved.

Nevertheless, Armenian sources have made a deliberate effort to give an international status to the meeting in the buffer zone. That has grieved Azerbaijan's leaders, who have expressed uneasiness over the possibility that problems may be created by initiatives that could effect the outcome of the talks.

President's Press Service Issues Statement

NC3007213493 Baku TURAN in English 1200 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 30 (TURAN)—Azerbaijani presidents press-service spreaded a statement that runs, that as the result of the meeting between the representatives of Azerbaijan and Armenian community of Nagorno-Karabakh, that took place yesterday at the battle-front line, a cease-fire was prolonged for the term of 1 week.

The results of the meeting make possible the further consultations and by this they confirm the viability of the plan of establishing a joint coordination committee, that is to become a technical negotiational body. Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the representatives of the Azeri and Armenian communities of Nagorno-Karabakh have to be represented in this body, the report of the press-service runs. The idea of establishment such a body was suggested by the Azeri delegation during March talks in Rome 1993 and it was backed by the chairman of CSCE Minsk conference on Nagorno-Karabakh Mario Raffaelli.

The report of the press-service points out, that "the efforts of Armenian sources to present yesterdays meeting in Nagorno-Karabakh as a meeting between the governments and groundless. [no closing quotes as received]

Talks With Karabakh Leaders 'Businesslike'

PM3007132593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Sergey Bablumyan report: "Stepanakert and Baku Want to Extend Moratorium on Combat Operations"]

[Text] Yerevan—According to information received from Stepanakert, the first meeting between official representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and Azerbaijan was held in a businesslike atmosphere.

The sides examined the possibility of extending the expiring armistice and discussed the details of the preparation for a bilateral meeting at a higher level. As for the terms under which the cease-fire could continue to remain in force, the Azerbaijan side promised to examine the proposals made by the Nagorno-Karabakh representatives on this score.

As IZVESTIYA was told at the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Foreign Ministry, meeting considered it essential to continue regular contacts on a broad range of questions of mutual interest. To show good will the Karabakh side handed over one prisoner of war to Azerbaijan's representatives immediately after the end of the meeting.

The further development of events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic will largely depend on Azerbaijan's reaction to the two proposed options on extending the moratorium on combat actions. As has been reported from Stepanakert, there had still been no reply from Baku by the morning of 29 July.

Azerbaijan Claims Talks 'Invalid'

LD3007133793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] The Armenian television news agency AILUR reports that a representative of the Azerbaijan Foreign

Ministry told Arkadiy Gukasyan, the Nagorno-Karabakh acting foreign minister, in a telephone conversation, that members of the Azerbaijani delegation allegedly were not authorized by the republican leadership to hold talks. Therefore, the results of the talks are deemed invalid.

Foreign Ministry Issues Protest Against Armenia

NC3007194093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 30 Jul 93

["Protest" issued by the Foreign Affairs Ministry against Armenia; date not given]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs deems it its duty to strongly protest the circulation of statements and appeals fabricated in Yerevan on behalf of the nonexistent and unrecognized Nagorno-Karabakh Republic by the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its missions in foreign countries, particularly by Armenia's permanent mission at the United Nations. The Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs regards that approach to be an action which grossly violates the accepted norms in international relations and the principles and norms that are upheld by international organizations.

The Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses concern over the statement circulated by Armenia's permanent representative at the United Nations on behalf of the chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet on 23 July and declares that it regards it as an attempt by Armenia and [words indistinct] to mislead the UN organization and its influential organ, the UN Security Council.

The Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses the hope that the United Nations and the UN Security Council will appropriately assess the diplomatic maneuvers embarked upon by Yerevan, which exploits the UN Secretariat's goodwill mission. Furthermore, the Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes that bringing the true state of affairs into the light and pointing to the deep precipice between the realities and the Armenian calumnies is essential.

The dates given in the Armenian side's [words indistinct] in connection with Azerbaijan's attacks against the pseudo Nagorno- Karabakh Republic conflict with the Armenian propaganda claims. A similar situation existed in connection with Azerbaijan's Shushinskiy and Lachinskiy Rayons in 1992. The Armenian mass media organs reported at the time that the peaceful residents of Khankendi [Stepanakert] were threatened. Furthermore, Armenia appealed to the United Nations to obstruct Azerbaijan's military attacks on Gorisskiy Rayon in 1992. Armenia's appeal was made when the Armenian Armed Forces partially occupied Azerbaijan's Zangelanskiy, Kubatlinskiy, and Dzhebrailskiy Rayons in December of that year.

The Armenian Ministry of Affairs has maintained its approach. Yerevan issued reports accusing Azerbaijan of preparing to attack Askeranskiy Rayon [words indistinct]. However, the Armenian Armed Forces launched a wide-scale attack on Agdamskiy Rayon, in which 179,000 people live—including 20,000 refugees from other occupied rayons in Azerbaijan—in 123 residential areas. Agdam City was occupied, more than 200 [word indistinct] people were killed or wounded, and [words indistinct] as a result of that attack. Armenia's [word indistinct] Corps units and [word indistinct] military forces from occupied Kelbadzharskiy Rayon took part in the attack on Agdam.

Azerbaijan expects the UN Security Council to assess this state of affairs and take action on the matter accordingly.

Armenian Army Units Move Toward Barda, Agdzhabedi

NC3007212293 Baku TURAN in English 1107 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 30 (TURAN)—After the seizure of Agdam by Armenian forces, the enemy keeps consolidating captured positions. So, to the reports of Azeri Defense Ministry, the occupants consolidate all the heights, surrounding the town, where they place artillery and 'Grad' power plants. All the strategic positions are captured in the town itself, including Agdam mosque (19th century monument of architecture), where Armenian snipers established themselves.

Last night Armenian units undertook an attempt to push toward Barda and Agdzhabedi from Agdam. 4 tanks, 2 armoured personnel carriers and 200 soldiers took part in the offensive. After 2- hours-long fighting the attack was repulsed.

During last 3 days shellings of the settlements of Kazakhskiy region of Azerbaijan go on from the side of Idzhevanskiy region of Armenia. So early morning July 30, Azeri village of Tatli was shelled by mens [as received] of tanks and machine guns from the territory of Armenian village Paravakar.

Defense Ministry on Armenian Artillery Activity

NC3107124893 Baku TURAN in English 1047 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, July 31 (TURAN)—Azerbaijani Defense Ministry reports, after signing July 25 the agreement on cease-fire, Armenian artillery activized its activity at Armenian-Azerbaijan boundary.

At night July 31 villages of Kazakh and Zangelan regions of Azerbaijan was bombarded from Armenian territory.

Region centre of Fizuli at the east of Karabakh was also bombarded last night and this morning.

The rest zones of Nagorno-Karabakh abstained from military actions.

Turkey Calls For 'Serious Measures' Against Armenia

PM3007133993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Sokhbet Mamedov report: "Turkey Shows Diplomatic Support for Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Baku—Turkey has appealed to Russia and France to use their authority and exert their influence on Armenia to get it to halt its aggression and withdraw its troops from the occupied regions of Azerbaijan.

Geydar Aliyev, acting president of Azerbaijan and chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, reported this to a session of the National Assembly on Wednesday. "In a telephone conversation with me," he said," Turkish President Suleyman Demirel reported that he had had talks with French President Francois Mitterrand and had sent a message to Russian President Boris Yeltsin."

The message, as reported by the Turkish mass media, notes that while the international community is demanding that Armenia relinquish seized Azerbaijani land, Armenia is doing the opposite. Moreover, the city of Agdam has been seized by it. Armenia's stance poses a real threat to peace in the region, the message says. In the light of these events, Turkey considers that it is time to take serious measures against Armenia and, to that end, is ready to cooperate with France and Russia in international organizations such as the United Nations and the CSCE.

This topic was broached at the National Assembly in the context of parliament's discussion of the dramatic situation prevailing in Azerbaijan since the seizure of the rayon center of Agdam and adjoining population centers.

Further on Vote To Hold Referendum on Elchibey

NC3007202993 Baku TURAN in English 1200 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Baku July 30 (TURAN)—The sitting of Milli Mejlis finished yesterday by passing a resolution on holding a referendum on confidence to President A. Elcibey and on prolonging the term of state of emergency for the third time.

After the discussion on the first issue and G. Aliyev's insistent speeches the deputies voted for holding a referendum August 28. Together with this the chairman of the committee on legislation Tofik Gasymov declared against this resolution and stated, that according to the Constitution, a referendum can be hold not earlier than 2 months and not later than 4 months after the resolution was passed. "Besides, to Guliyev's point of view, the holding of referendum under the circumstances of state of emergency contradicts democratic, juridical norms, and cant be considered legal".

The deputy Ibragim Ibragimov stated during the discussion, that a referendum is just a kind of interrogatory of public opinion, which has no legal basis and even its negative results cant resolve the crisis of the power. "The mechanism of suspending of the president from the [words indistinct] Constitution, there is even no constitutional court," Ibragimov said. Meanwhile, President Elcibey stated that he will send in his resignation, in case the results of the referendum are negative for him, but on some conditions.

The member of Milli Mejlis Ibragim Ibragimov reported Elcibeys terms, which run, that Milli Mejlis have to: 1) revoke its resolution passed June 24 1993, on stripping the president of his powers, 2) admit the decisions, concerning the president illegal, 3) adopt a resolution on holding parliamentary elections and fix the date of the elections.

In response, Elcibey's opponents read out an appeal of former Ministers of National Security Fakhreddin Takhmazov and Internal Affairs Abdullah Allakhverdiyev, who accused President Elcibey in the Ganja conflict June 4, letting know, that they wont step back from the positions, taken before.

Takhmazov and Allakhverdiyev, arrested July 16, earlier, during the inquiry of Ganja events by the deputee committee were denying presidents participation in Ganja developments.

According to the speeches of the presidents supporters and opponents, the referendum wont lead to the outcome of the political crisis, but can more deepen it.

Elcibeys opponent, former Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev came out against holding a referendum and stated: "The referendum will lead us to civil war. There are 1 million refugees in the country and both the parties have more than 50 thousand guns."

Elchibey Favors Referendum

LD3107151793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] President Elchibey of Azerbaijan approves the holding of a referendum on confidence in him and will unconditionally accept the results of a plebiscite. This was announced by Ibragimov, an Azerbaijan parliamentary deputy, who is in telephone contact with Elchibey. The latter has since 18 June been in his home village in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

Decision To Hold Referendum Seen as 'Fundamentally Wrong'

LD0108093093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] The decision by the Azerbaijan Mejlis to hold a referendum on 25 August is fundamentally wrong, Jumshud Nuriyev, chairman of Azerbaijan's parliamentary Commission on Budget Supervision, said. According to the ANI agency, he justified his statement by the fact that the republic is in a state of war. In the conditions of a state of emergency regime, he noted, holding a referendum is impossible. There is an enormous number of unregistered refugees in the country.

Iran's Velayati To Visit 9 Aug

NC3107124993 Baku TURAN in English 1047 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, July 31 (TURAN)—Official visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran 'Ali Akbar Velayati, which is due to take place August 9, is expected in Baku, reported press-service of Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet.

According to information from the Cabinet, Iranian Government adopted the decision on giving urgent humanitarian help to refugees from Agdam region. 20 tons of rice, 10 tons of flour, 500 tents and 3 thousand blankets will be delivered in Azerbaijan.

Mamedov Intervenes, Frees Arrested NIP Press Secretary

NC3107124793 Baku TURAN in English 1047 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Baku, July 31 (TURAN)—Press Secretary of National Independence Party [NIP] of Azerbaijan Rauf Mirkadirov was arrested in the parliament building in compliance with the order of the procurator of the republic Ali Omarov.

"I tried to clear up the fate of four members of Musavat party, having been arrested last Thursday in the tea-room, when they discussed political theme," - said R. Mirkadirov to TURAN's correspondent.

According to Mirkadirov's words, procurator roughly refused to answer his question and then "asked" Minister of Internal Affairs Vagif Novruzov to have words with him.

Mirkadirov was accompanied to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and only after interference of the chairman of the NIP Etibar Mamedov he was dismissed by police.

Former Minister's Apartment Attacked With Grenades

PM3007133593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 93 First Edition p 2

[Sokhbet Mamedov report: "Attempt on the Life of Former Defense Minister of Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Baku—There has been an explosion at the apartment block where Ragim Gaziyev, member of the National Assembly and former defense minister of Azerbaijan, resides.

Preliminary examination of the scene revealed that a grenade was apparently thrown from the roof of a neighboring block into the courtyard and a grenade launcher was fired. The side of the building where the former minister lives was damaged. The windows of several apartments were smashed by the blast. There were, fortunately, no deaths or injuries.

In conversation with your correspondent, Rufat Mansurov, chief of the National Security Ministry Investigation Department, said: "Initial examination of the scene of the event and the material evidence found there allow the hypothesis that this could have been an attempt on Gaziyev's life." As Mansurov stated, no criminal proceedings have yet been instituted. The general prosecutor is carrying out further investigation to determine the corpus delicti.

Acting Foreign Minister Salamov Receives Greek Envoy

NC3107212793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Acting Foreign Minister Albert Salamov has received Panayiotis Karatsasis, Greece's extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to Azerbaijan. The two officials exchanged views on the situation that has been created in Azerbaijan as a result of Armenia's intensified military operations and the usurpation of Agdam by that republic. Salamov said that Azerbaijan has made a significant effort to inform the world on the realities related to the incidents in Agdam. He said that he hoped that Greece will adopt an objective approach and move to condemn the aggressor. Salamov also said that the adoption of strong measures against the aggressor is essential.

On his part, Karatsasis said that Greece wants the dispute to be quickly resolved and Azerbaijan's sovereignty and independence strengthened. He also said that Greece supports compliance with the accepted norms and principles, which have been enshrined in the UN Charter and the rules and regulations of the other international organizations. The ambassador informed Salamov that his country wishes to assist in Azerbaijan's effort to quickly resolve the dispute.

Mustafayev Appointed Chief Editor of AZERBAIJAN

NC0108181693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1655 GMT 1 Aug 93

["Text" of the National Assembly decision to replace the chief editor of the newspaper AZERBAIJAN on 29 July—read by announcer]

[Text] The Azerbaijan National Assembly has decided the following:

Mihman Dzhavad ogly Mamedov should be relieved of his responsibilities as the chief editor of the newspaper AZERBAIJAN, organ of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, at his request.

Hamid Mir-Bala ogly Mustafayev be appointed chief editor of the newspaper AZERBAIJAN.

[Signed] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Baku City, 29 July 1993

Georgia

Observers Arrive in Ochamchira To Monitor Cease-Fire

LD3107203793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] Koba Liklikadze of the Georgian Defense Ministry press service in Ochamchira has told us that in accordance with the Sochi tripartite agreement, a group of observers arrived in the town of Ochamchira today, 31 July. The group includes colonels Ivan Lutskiy and Igor Pechorskiy from the Russian side and Beslan Gvarjia from the Gudauta side.

A meeting was held at headquarters of the Georgian Defense Ministry's 24th brigade, which is stationed in Ochamchira. The meeting was attended by the Georgian armed forces chief of staff, Major-General Avtandil Tskitishvili; Major-General Levan Sharashenidze; the deputy defense minister, Colonel Gia Vashakidze; the commander of the 24th brigade, Colonel Butkhuz Tokhadze; the administrator of the rayon (Ochamchira rayon), Khuta Guguchia, and other officials.

The main emphasis at the meeting was put at the implementation of the Sochi agreement.

Representatives of the Georgian Defense Ministry pointed out that from the very first days the agreement took effect, there had been cease-fire violations by Abkhaz armed units, leading to casualties. In this respect, the situation on a frontline interval near the village of Tamysh was particularly complex. There was an impression that some Abkhaz units were acting without authorization from the Gudauta leadership. All this was blocking the road to peace for which the Georgian and Abkhaz peoples are striving.

The Abkhaz representative, Kvarchia, pointed out that there was no alternative to the peace agreement and there would be a principled discussion about the above-mentioned incidents [as heard] in Tkvarcheli and Gudauta.

The tripartite meeting discussed a number of urgent measures which were to be implemented in order to create good chances for the establishment of peace in the region. Among these measures was, in particular, the start of repair works to supply the residents of Sukhumi and Tkvarcheli with electricity and water. The sides also proposed to create safe air corridors and special peace posts on the Ochamchira frontline.

Also today, the Georgian military delegation led by Maj-Gen Levan Sharashenidze, flew to Tkvarcheli, in order to study the situation on the spot and have talks. The delegation is to return to Ochamchira later today.

'Mixed' Groups Begin Operations

LD3007134493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1314 GMT 30 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi July 30 TASS— Mixed trilateral monitor groups comprising Russians, Georgian and Abkhazians, began functioning in eight key residential areas of Abkhazia today, in accordance with the ceasefire agreement signed by Georgia, Abkhazia and Russia earlier. The agreement also provides for stationing of similar groups in other residential areas with consent of all parties.

International observers are expected to arrive in Abkhazia to oversee the implementation of the peace accords together with trilateral groups.

The first group of foreign observers will comprise 50 members and their three-month stay in the conflict zone will cost nine million dollars, according to Edward Brunner, a personal envoy of the U.N. secretary-general.

Brunner expressed the hope that the upkeep of the group will be paid by the countries which will send their nationals to Abkhazia.

Shevardnadze Welcomes UN Participation in Abkhazia

LD0208140293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1337 GMT 2 Aug 93

[Text] Tbilisi August 2 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze has described as an "important factor" the U.N. participation in the settlement of the military conflict in Abkhazia.

In a radio interview on Monday, he stressed that this is the first time U.N. troops will help settle a conflict in the former Soviet Union. If the operation ends successfully, "Georgia's experience may be used to quell other 'trouble spots' in former Soviet republics," Shevardnadze said.

"Our repeated attempts to sit down at a negotiation table which have resulted in a ceasefire agreement will help us avoid new bloodsheds and keep the North Caucasian nations from sliding into a war. Why are we directing our course towards Russia? This is not a matter of adherence, by a harsh reality [sentence as received]. I believe that we have made the right choice. There was no other way out. A thorough analysis of political, economic and financial processes in this country shows that Russia is also objectively interested in the stabilisation in the Caucasus. Another proof is that the Russian ambassador to the United Nations fully shares and supports our views on ways of establishing peace in Abkhazia," Shevardnadze said.

Asked about a future fate of autonomies, Shevardnadze refrained from forecasts, adding that "it is too early to speak about this. I can only say that an isolated autonomy, of which many politicians speak, is even a more powerful explosive. I think it would be advisable to consider the question of the administrative system while developing a new constitution."

Says UN, Russian Role Can Guarantee Settlement

LD3107210093 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1541 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Text] [Not dateline as received] In an interview with a Georgian radio correspondent, the Georgian head of state stressed that it was impossible to achieve any improvement in the situation in the republic without compromises and reciprocal concessions. Speaking about the issue of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, Mr. Shevardnadze said that it was necessary to start a reconciliation process, even if it is very difficult. Too much blood has been spilt and it is impossible for either side to continue the war.

In the opinion of the republic's chairman of parliament, an impressive [as received] and wide participation of the UN Security Council in the settlement of the conflict and Russia's interest in a stable situation in Georgia could guarantee an implementation of the agreement.

Shevardnadze reported that there was an agreement in principle with the Gudauta side to adhere to the norms of the agreement and to settle all possible incidents [received].

In conclusion, the Georgian head of state expressed confidence that a conflict settlement in Abkhazia will make it possible to enforce order in other regions of the republic.

Calls Start of Cease-Fire 'Encouraging'

PM3007150093 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Besik Urigashvili report incorporating remarks by Eduard Shevardnadze during interview with correspondent Urigashvili and unidentified journalists in Sukhumi; date not given: "Shevardnadze Considers Start of Cease-Fire Encouraging"]

[Text] Sukhumi, Tbilisi—The past two nights have been the quietest in recent months both in Sukhumi and at the front line. Despite violations of the cease-fire agreement by both sides, Eduard Shevardnadze, who flew to Sukhumi the previous day, described the events of recent days in the conflict zone as encouraging.

In a talk with IZVESTIYA's correspondent Shevardnadze noted that an instant cease-fire on the armed confrontation lines was scarcely to be expected. "At the same time," Shevardnadze stated, "it can be sensed that both sides are prepared for fruitful cooperation, and now the main thing is to start up the monitoring mechanisms fully and place joint Russian-Georgian-Abkhaz monitoring groups at the hottest spots, so as to have accurate and reliable information on instances of violation of the cease-fire."

It is very important, the Georgian leader believes, for the joint commission on settling the conflict to get down to work and for international observers to become involved in the peacemaking process.

Incidentally, in connection with the question of UN participation in resolving the conflict, Edouard Brunner, the UN secretary general's personal representative, has arrived in Sukhumi.

Brunner was due to fly on to Gudauta later, but was unable to do so because of adverse weather conditions. Although several Georgian participants in the meeting with Brunner insisted it had nothing to do with the weather. In the corridors people were claiming that one of the main points of conflict between the Georgian and Abkhaz political leaders is the attitude to the peacemaking forces which are to enter the conflict zone. The Abkhaz side insists that "Blue Berets" from Russia should be stationed in the conflict zone under UN auspices. Georgia would prefer an international contingent and will insist on that.

In any case, everyone who is really committed to establishing peace in Abkhazia believes that all the technical problems must be resolved extremely quickly in order to preserve the tender shoots of the cease-fire. Among Georgian politicians and certain high-ranking military men there is a fixed idea that there are people on both sides, and also in Russia, who are in favor of continuing the war, and that they will do everything to stop the cease-fire agreement from working.

In particular, Eduard Shevardnadze stated frankly in a talk with journalists in Sukhumi that there are many among the military who are displeased with the signing of the cease-fire agreement. He also did not rule out the possibility that certain field commanders on both the Abkhaz and the Georgian side could deliberately provoke a resumption of hostilities.

Meanwhile the population of Sukhumi is in general very favorably disposed toward the start of the peace process. In the morning of 29 July I discovered this for myself on talking with many inhabitants of Sukhumi who had had their first good night's sleep.

Matters are more complex as regards the military. Many of them are skeptical about the cease-fire. There are even those who are openly hostile. Many of them state that the Georgian leader has betrayed the army and tarnished the memory of the fallen soldiers.

Nor are matters easy as regards the question of the return of certain Gudauta leaders to Sukhumi. We will not let them come here, say not only the soldiers, but many civilians too. Shevarenadze himself, in reply to the question: How realistic is the prospect of Ardzinba's returning to Sukhumi?—said that nothing is impossible in this world, but added that at the present stage it does not make sense to raise this question, since the main thing today is the cease-fire. Everything else is up for discussion at more detailed talks, provision for which is made in the document signed in Sochi.

Georgians Claim Abkhazia Violates Cease-Fire

LD0108130293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1215 GMT 1 Aug 93

[By GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 1 Aug—"A violation of the cease-fire agreement by the Abkhaz side was recorded last night by the trilateral commission of observers in the conflict zone." This was reported today by a Georgian Information Agency correspondent, quoting information from the the press center of the Georgian Armed Forces stationed in Abkhazia.

According to the GIA report from Tbilisi, "Georgian troop positions in the Shroma-Akhalsheni area were fired on more than once using grenade-launchers and automatic weapons." No retaliatory fire followed, GIA reports. The situation was calm last night and in the first half of today near the village of Tamysh in Ochamchirskiy Rayon, where recently there was intensive fighting.

We remind you that according to information from the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet received by the ITAR-TASS correspondent in Sochi, the Abkhaz and Georgian sides have been implementing the cease-fire agreement on the whole. According to reports from the Abkhaz source, in the second half of yesterday members of the temporary trilateral monitoring group recorded a violation of the agreement by the Georgian side: There was firing from a tank in the area of the Apyanda heights in the Sukhumi area.

Abkhazia Reports Georgia Breaks Cease-Fire

LD3107124793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1130 GMT 31 Jul 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 31 Jul—According to a report from the Abkhazian Defense Ministry, over the last 24 hours Georgian troops have violated the cease-fire agreement in the Gumista and eastern areas. So, according to information from an Abkhazian source, yesterday at 1525, after ordanance, tank, and infantry fighting vehicle fire, Georgian troops started an attack on the Alyanda heights, and at 1[illegible]30 Abkhazian troop positions in the Kutishkha mountain area were fired on by mortars.

According to the source, in the eastern sector in the early hours and later this morning, the Georgian side used howitzers, mortars and grenade launchers on the inhabited localities of Pokvash, Bediya, Katsikhabla, and Baslakhu. There are children among the civilian casualties . At present a meeting is taking place at Sochi's Adler Airport between Abakhazia's Supreme Soviet Chairman Vladislav Ardzhinba and Edouard Brunner, special representative of the UN secretary general. Ways of implementing the ceasefire agreement in Abkhazia, signed in Sochi on 27 July, are being discussed.

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Withdraw From Senaki

LD0108171093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1643 GMT 1 Aug 93

[By GIA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Senaki (Western Georgia), 1 Aug—Talks with Loti Kobalia's armed formations, who support Zviad Gamsakhurdia, have ended successfully in the town of Senaki in western Georgia. The Georgian news agency (GIA) reported this evening that "all the armed formations have been withdrawn" from the town. "The situation is under the full control of the Georgian Interior Ministry headquarters."

GIA reports that earlier in the day supporters of former president Zviad Gamsakhurdia staged a rally in the town. It was addressed by Nemo Burchuladze, a former first deputy head of the republic's parliament. "There were no breaches of public order at the rally," the GIA report notes.

Gamsakhurdia Representative Denies Report on Hostage

LD3007235793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] INTERFAX has reported that in Zugdidi, another town in west Georgia, supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia have taken government adviser [David] Gumbaridze hostage and have demanded the release of their comrades arrested during the dispersal of a meeting recently held in Kutaisi. Though the Kutaisi authorities deny arresting members of the opposition, we have received today an inconclusive list of some of the deputies of the former Georgian parliament who were arrested during the meeting.

At the same time, in a telephone call with our office a representative of Zviad Gamsakhurdia denied reports about the detention of Gumbaridze.

Kitovani's Aide Denies Kitovani Alliance With Kobalia

LD0108082593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 31 Jul 93

[Excerpt] On 30 July, the news program Vestnik, and later the Kvishis Saati program [both Georgian television programs], reported that armed units of Vakhtang Kobalia had entered the town of Senaki and taken control of a number of strategic positions there late at night on 29 July. These reports also mentioned Tengiz Kitovani's name and spoke about an alleged alliance between Tengiz Kitovani and Loti Vakhtang Kobalia. Virtually the same information was published by the newspaper SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA.

Irakli Kereselidze, aide of Deputy Kitovani: We can state with full responsibility that Tengiz Kitovani was in Sukhumi when Vakhtang Kobalia's unit was entering Senaki on 29 July. This can be confirmed by Abkhazia's Defense Council Chairman Zhiuli Shartava.

Yesterday morning, 30 July, Tengiz Kitovani, went to Ochamchira. It means that Tengiz Kitovani did not have any contact with Vakhtang Kobalia either when the latter was entering Senaki or later. [passage omitted]

South Ossetia Wants To Participate in Talks

LD3007213393 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1420 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] The Supreme Soviet presidium of so-called South Ossetia has been using an organ of the press "Yuzhnaya Osetiya" [SOUTH OSSETIA] to secure its rights lately. An opinion that no talks between Georgia and Russia will have political effects without the participation of South Ossetian representatives is being spread through this medium.

South Ossetian Government Introduces Passports

LD3007121193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Well-informed reports from Tskhinvali claim that the de facto leadership of Tskhinvali intends to introduce for its population passports of the Republic of South Ossetia. They will will be colored red. The South Ossetian Government intends implementing these measures even in the regions inhabited by the Georgian population. The Georgian leadership has failed to introduce Georgian passports, but the Ossetians are about to do so.

Russian Envoy Meets National Democratic Party Leader

LD3007211493 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1420 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Yesterday, on 29 July, the Russian Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Georgia [Vladimir Zemskiy] met Georgiy Chanturia, the chairman of the Georgian National Democratic Party, on his own initiative.

The agreement reached in Sochi, Russo-Georgian relations, and possible links between the National Democratic Party and the Russian Embassy and other political circles in Russia were the subjects considered at the meeting.

The ambassador voiced a hope that contacts between the Russian Embassy and the National Democratic Party will continue in the future.

Shevardnadze Meets German Envoy; German Credits Registered

LD3007173993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] The Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze met Guenther Dahloff, the German ambassador in Georgia, and the chairman of the German Technical Society today.

The point is that credits of 20 million German marks that were allotted to Georgia by Germany were officially registered today. The agreement was signed for the Georgian side by External Relations Committee Chairman Teimuraz Mamatsashvili.

This credit—which we actually were given as a gift as a result of Shevardnadze's business visit to Germany—has now become our legal property.

Cabinet Approves Monetary Policy, Coupon as Sole Currency

AU3007150793 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 23 Jul p 3

[Report by Eduard Ediberidze under rubric "In the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers": "Let Us Form a Single Monetary and Credit Policy"]

[Text] **On 21 July, at the regular session of the Presidium of the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, which was held under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua, the main directions of a single monetary and credit policy for the republic were discussed. We remind you that the Government was obliged to return for a second time to discussion of the draft submitted by the**

National Bank because, as its president Demur Dvalishvili admitted, when it was first discussed, many observations and proposals were made that were taken into account during the preparation of the new variant of this document.

The Presidium wholly approved this draft elaborated according to the recommendations of the IMF and decided to submit it to the Georgian Parliament. It specifically provides for the establishment of limits on loans that the Republic's banking system has to grant to the Government (in order to cover the budget deficit) and the economy amounting to 639 billion coupons before 1 October of this year and 771 billion coupons before 1 January of next year, including loans that the bank gives by way of refinancing, amounting correspondingly to 358 billion and 451 billion coupons. At the same time, it is intended to sell 10 percent of the overall amount of refinancing credits for the economy through auctions. As regards the limit on coupons put into circulation, it will be set at 280 billion coupons as of 1 October of this year and 380 billion as of 1 January next year. It was recognized as expedient to accept the National Bank's proposal on fixing an interest rate on 100 percent unified [unipitsirebuli] credit resources. On refinancing credits given to banks from the National Bank, the margin has been set at 5 percent. The interest rates on credits that the Ministry of Finances receives from the National Bank will remain, with exceptions, at 1 percent until 1 January 1994.

Discussion of the main directions of a single state monetary and financial policy naturally focused on the unenviable situation in which the National Bank's coupon has found itself, its corresponding value to the Russian ruble, and problems connected with this. During a thorough exchange of views, in which, incidentally, Vakhtang Rcheulishvili, deputy speaker of the Georgian Parliament, participated, various viewpoints were expressed. However, finally, the members of the Cabinet of Ministers nevertheless agreed that it was necessary to declare the National Bank's coupon the sole means of payment on the whole territory of Georgia and that this should be implemented along with ratification of the republican budget for April-December of this year. Furthermore, it was decided that such proposals should be submitted the same day to the session of the Emergency Economic Council under the head of state. In short, the final verdict on this question, as well as on the main directions of a monetary and credit policy throughout the whole Republic, and on the ratification of its budget should be delivered by the Georgian Parliament, which has included these questions on the agenda at its regular session.

In order to implement the edict of the head of state on immediate measures to develop private entrepreneurship in Georgia, the Cabinet of Ministers discussed and ratified a government program of support for it and also a concrete plan of measures to implement it. The appropriate ministries and departments have been entrusted with elaborating and submitting coordinated proposals on implementing these measures. At the same time, it was decided to create a republican fund to support the development of private entrepreneurship in Georgia.

The Cabinet of Ministers adopted a decision connected with organizing work on forming the 1994 republican draft budget. Other topical questions were discussed.

National Bank Coupon Only Legal Tender From 2 Aug

LD0108195593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] From 2 August the Georgian National Bank coupon will be the sole form of legal tender on the republic's territory. This is how the Georgian Government has reacted to Russia's decision to remove from circulation its old monetary denominations. According to a RIA report, Georgian citizens are granted the right to exchange rubles—up to 100,000 rubles—in the course of the week for coupons at the rate of one to one.

Estonia

Border Guards Detain Iraqis With Forged Visas

LD3107122293 Tallinn BNS in Estonian 1320 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Tallinn, July 29 BNS—On 29 July, Estonian border guards detained five Iraqi citizens, travelling on Iraqi passports, at the Valga railroad station [southern Estonia]. According to the Border Guard Department, Iraqi citizens arrived via the Riga-Tallinn train and offered a bribe of $900. None of the Iraqis has valid visas and their passports turned out to be forged. Border Department told BNS that the Iraqis reached the Estonian border by bribing their way because their visas were invalid.

Light Infantry Company Withdraws to Base in West

WS3007133793 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1844 GMT 29 Jul 93

[Text] Tallinn, July 29—The light infantry company which was ordered to disband by the government decree on Tuesday [27 July] has withdrawn to its base at Pullapaa in West Estonia.

Deputy chairman of the parliamentary defence committee said debates over the company's fate were being held in a peaceful atmosphere. Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste acting for the Prime Minister said that the government will do everything to avoid any violence.

The government's session on Tuesday decided to disband the Laanemaa light infantry company which had declared its insubordination to the Defence Forces Headquarters.

The company was given time till Wednesday evening to hand over their arms and equipment by the government. Defence Minister Hain Rebas broke off his leave to enforce the decision.

The company's move to leave the control of the Headquarters is the second since its formation at the initiative of the then exile government. The company leaders who were active in the Geneva '49 movement object to the present Defence Forces leadership, some of whom worked on the Soviet enlisting committees. The company leaders demand better financing, equipment, and management for their unit.

A new statement by the company leaders issued on Tuesday called on the formation of a national light infantry force on the basis of the Laanemaa company. The statement pointed to weaknesses in the current defence policy.

Defence Minister Hain Rebas was confident on Wednesday that the conflict will find a peaceful solution. He warned against a possible bringing in of Russian "peace-keeping" forces in case an armed confrontation developed.

The company commander Asso Kommer, who was discharged by the commander of the Defence Forces a week ago, said they would resist to a violent disbanding and an alleged unconstitutional treatment by the Headquarters and the Government. He also claimed good relations with the Russian army at Paldiski.

Government Orders Company Leaders To Leave

WS0208125493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1932 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] Tallinn, July 30—The government has decided that the leaders of the Laanemaa Volunteers Light Infantry company must leave the unit on the arrival of the leadership and to appeal to the court for any legal issues to be settled, the government press office announced.

The government decided on Tuesday [27 July] to disband the Laanemaa light infantry company which had declared its insubordination to the Defence Forces' Headquarters and gave the company till Wednesday evening to hand over their arms. Defence Minister Hain Rebas broke off his leave to enforce the decision.

It is the second time the company has moved to leave the control of Headquarters. The leaders of the company, which was established last year at the initiative of the exile government, object to the Defence Forces' officers who worked on the Soviet enlistment committees. The company leaders demand better financing, equipment, and management for their unit.

A new statement by the company leaders issued on Tuesday called on the formation of a national light infantry force on the basis of the Laanemaa company. The statement pointed to weaknesses in the current defence policy.

Defence Minister Hain Rebas was confident that the conflict will find a peaceful solution but he warned against an invasion by the Russian army in case an armed confrontation developed.

The company commander Asso Kommer said they would resist a violent disbarding and an alleged unconstitutional treatment by Headquarters and the Government. He also claimed good relations with the Russian army at Paldiski.

Deputy chairman of the parliamentary defence committee said on Thursday that negotiations over the company's fate were held in a peaceful atmosphere. Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste acting for the Prime Minister said the government will do everything to avoid any violence.

On Friday, the government decreed that the company leaders Asso Kommer, Jaak Mosin, Lembit Tans and

Juhan Kadar, have to leave the unit as soon as the new company leadership appointed by the government arrives to take over the command. They will be obliged not to contact the unit's personnel before the court verdict.

The newly appointed company leadership will have to form a new subunit from those of the personnel willing to continue service in the armed forces of the Estonian Republic. The rest are discharged to the Defence Forces reserves.

The company's behaviour was also condemned this morning in an official statement by the voluntary Defence League leadership.

There has been more criticism voiced over the government policy, however.

"The case of the light infantry company is a clash of two opposing world views, the result of which determines the principles on what the Estonian army is to be formed," member of parliament and vice-chairman of the Estonian Citizens' Union, Katrin Linde told a news conference by the Estonian Citizens' Union on Friday. "It is an opposition between volunteers with high ideals of the Estonian Republic and officers from the former Soviet enlisting boards," she explained, adding, however that the conflict can be solved without damaging the soldiers' dignity or showing disrespect towards the Defence Forces' Headquarters.

Linde said that one MP is constantly staying with the company while she and her fellow-partisan Peeter Lorents are engaged in shuttle diplomacy between the authorities and the company.

"The situation is under control and happily the government has at last understood the complexity of the case, showing more restraint than in its initial statements," she said.

Chairman of the Estonian Citizens Union, Juri Toomepuu, places the whole responsibility for the incident on the Defence Minister and the Defence Forces leadership. "As a soldier, I know that a soldier must obey orders, but the commander must answer for his subordinates.

"There is no place for the Soviet mentality, irresponsibility and ignorance," he said.

Similar views were expressed by vice-chairman of the Riigikogu and leader of the Centrist opposition in the parliament, Edgar Savisaar. In an interview to the Estonian Radio on Thursday he said that the crisis was the direct result of the government's action. "The government tried to hunt the stork with an axe, but couldn't catch it," he said. "The solid Estonian men of the company are fed up with the Defence Ministry fooling them. Army is too serious a matter to be treated like this," Savisaar said.

Lithuania

Landsbergis on Ties With Russia, Baltic States

LD3007170693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 30 Jul 93

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference was held today by Vytautas Landsbergis in the Seimas on Lithuania and its neighbors. Esteemed professor, I had an impression that all Lithuania's neighbors have some claims, various claims, Latvia has some claims, Belarus has different claims, Poland has again different, and the situation in Kaliningrad is again different. It will not be easy in the nearest future to solve these claims mentioned by you. Am I correct?

[Landsbergis] I would not say that all these could be called claims. For instance, we do not hear any claims from Latvia, but only a wish that Lithuania does not become an intercommunicating yard, having a sufficiently free border with Latvia, that we do not inflict damage with this intercommunicating yard to Latvia. Thus, it is essential to introduce order on the border and then there will not be any questions about a special regime on our border with Latvia. We wish to have freedom of movement between Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. These are not claims but simply problems that have to be solved.

On the part of Russia, these are not particular claims but a wish to get hold of the gas pipeline, and of large enterprises in Lithuania in the form of a payment for gas and other deliveries, while Russia itself does not pay Lithuania for the supply of electricity to Kaliningrad oblast, or for the supply of goods to Russia. Such a policy of pressure makes use of the fact that Russia is big and Lithuania can do nothing to it when Russia does not pay, but Russia can do something to Lithuania when it is not able to pay. The use of this advantage in this form does not serve good neighborly mutual understanding and cooperation. [passage indistinct]

[Announcer] You spoke of the militarization of Kaliningrad oblast. Since the economic situation in Russia is at present at a rather low level, don't you think that there should not be talk about some economic or some other expansionism.

[Landsbergis] Russia is able to take over the strategic and economic levers in Lithuania on the right of ownership [sentence as heard]. This does not promise anything good for Lithuania. As far as the situation in Kaliningrad oblast is concerned, if it is true what we hear from such intermediate sources about the beginning or future resettlement of the Russian Germans to that oblast, it is possible to forecast the creation and, maybe, special creation of yet another hotbed of ethnic tension between the Germans and Russians in Kaliningrad oblast itself, which would serve in the final account as a justification of the deployment of the Army there. Because there is no other justification to deploy the Army there. Such a tendency would be ominous both to the residents in Kaliningrad oblast and to Lithuania, as its closest neighbor.

[Announcer] You mentioned the Baltic [word indistinct] at the news conference.

[Landsbergis] I have in mind the fact, which I have already mentioned before, that the Lithuanian leadership is sometimes rather inert in its response to aggressive statements by Russian politicians regarding Estonia or Latvia. In my opinion, all these Baltic states must demonstrate maximum solidarity and withstand this pressure. We cannot be unconcerned about what is happening in Russia, including the change of policy from a democratic good neighborly stand to a policy of supremacy over the invented notion of a close, some special country, to which some of Russia's rights and wishes may be applied. We can do nothing about this evolution there. We simply wish that this were not happening, but this is taking place, we have to define how to withstand it.

[Announcer] These are internal Kremlin matters.

[Landsbergis] But internal Kremlin matters may become a definite Russian state policy. We are situated near to Russia. Thus it is not simply internal Kremlin matters that we could ignore and not analyze. We must analyze.